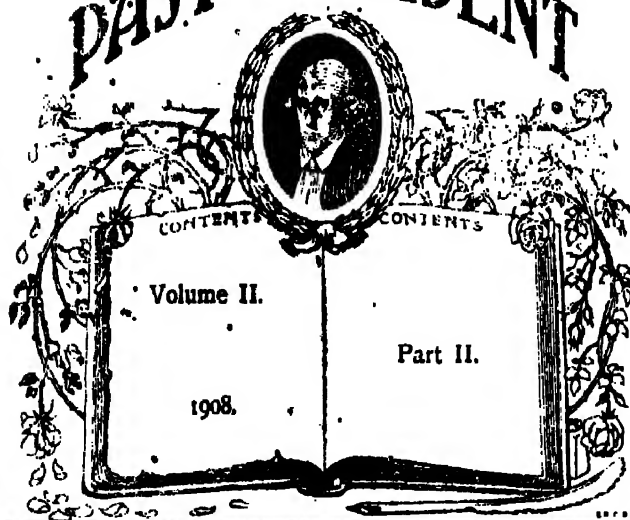


EDITED BY THE REV. W. K. FIRMINGER, B.D., F.R.G.S.



BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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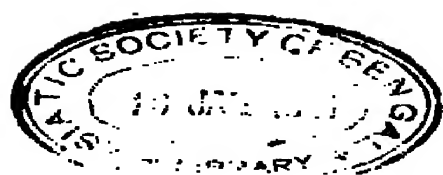
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Portrait of the Second Mrs. Warren Hastings.

Bishops Heber and Wilson.

A FEW PERSONAL REMINISCENCES.



THE subjoined notes are collected from the private correspondence of Captain F. Gresley of the 14th B. N. I., who retired from active service in 1844. How well esteemed this excellent officer was by his superiors the following extract from the General Orders of the Hyderabad Resident (Major-General James Stuart Fraser) on behalf of the Nizam's Government testifies :—

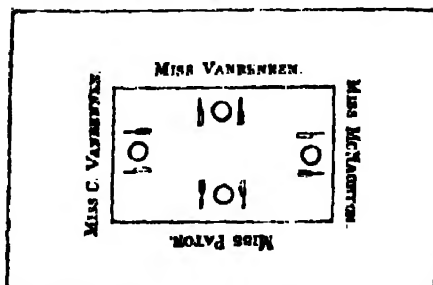
13th February 1844.—Captain F. Gresley of the 14th Regiment, Bengal Native Infantry, attached to the Nizam's Army, having been permitted by the Government of India to retire from the service of the East India Company from the 1st proximo, his name will be discontinued from the list of the Nizam's Army from that date. Captain Gresley has served the Nizam for seventeen years, in both a Military and Civil capacity, with a zeal and ability which have obtained the approbation of successive Residents; an acknowledgment by the British Government on several occasions of the admirable manner in which he discharged the important duties entrusted to him. Major-General Fraser deeply regrets to be deprived of this officer's services and that valuable assistance which he deems it an act of justice to acknowledge he has ever received from Captain Gresley's talents and correct judgment.

Mr. Francis Gresley, having just obtained a cadetship from the Honourable Company, embarked for India, on Monday, the 16th June, 1823, on board the *H.C.S. Thomas Grenville*. The ship was anchored at the "Lower Hope," and immediately on arriving on board Mr. Gresley began the series of his home letters, from which the following notes are taken. The earlier letters are addressed to his father, Richard Gresley, Esq., of Kenilworth Hall, Warwickshire :—

"The Bishop [Reginald Heber, Lord Bishop of Calcutta] is expected on board about one o'clock. They are to salute him with 19 guns and man the yard-arms."

In the opening entry of his Journal, Bishop Heber records that he arrived accordingly by the Ramsgate steamboat, accompanied by a party of friends, and that the compliments mentioned by Mr. Gresley were duly paid to him, and that soon after his boarding her, the *Grenville* weighed anchor, but meeting with an adverse wind advanced only a very little way down the river. The company of passengers and ship's officers met first at the early dinner, for the meal hours on boardship were then, or at least on board that ship, the same as those which are sometimes so unreasonably complained of by travellers in the second saloon of the modern P. & O. steamers.

FOUR YOUNG LADIES IN THE COURT SERVICE.



MR. ELLIOTT, Surgeon.

MR. SWINLEY, Arty. Cadet.		MR. HUTCHINSON, Writer.
MR. CONOLLY, Arty. Cadet.	ELLINGTON	MR. HARE, Writer.
MR. MCGRAW, Infy. Cadet.	COLLIER	CAPT. PECKETT, Beng. Engrs.
Mrs. MCNAGHTON, a young gentleman just come from "Rugby" going out with his mamma.	COLLIER	MRS. PECKETT, his wife.
MR. SHAW, going out Asst. Surgeon.	POWER	LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.
MAJ. BACKVILLE, Beng. Infy.	POWER	MRS. HEBER, his wife.
MR. BURNETT, Chief Mate.	POWER	CAPT. MANNING, Commander.
MR. PILCHER, 2nd Mate.	POWER	LADY MCNAGHTON, going out to her husband.
MR. CUTHBERTSON, Deputy Master Attendant at Penang.	POWER	MR. CHENTON, Senior Merchant.
ONE OF THE MIDSHIPMEN.	POWER	MRS. MCGRAW, going out to her husband, Col. McGregor.
MR. GRANT, Writer.	POWER	COL. PRINCE, Bengal Arty.
MR. GRESLEY, Infy. Cadet.	POWER	MISS SHAKESPEARE, going out to her father or to be married.
MR. GROVE, Arty. Cadet.	POWER	MR. MCINTOSH, Free Merchant.

MR. BENIPOLD, Purser.

Mr. Gresley drew for his father a plan of the table (*see plate*) with the covers, all carefully noted, as they were placed on that first social occasion. It will be observed that the young gentleman had already exercised his curiosity as to the condition, rank, and even the private affairs of his fellow-passengers.

By the 18th the baffling breezes were succeeded by a favouring gale, and the Indian voyage was fairly begun. After tea the Bishop, with the ready approval of the Captain, commenced the evening prayers in the cuddy, which he kept up during the rest of the voyage. He used, he tells us himself, the General Confession, Lord's Prayer, Collect for all conditions of men, General Thanksgiving and other prayers. Mr. Gresley the next day made a note on his Lordship—

"The Bishop I find is an excellent good-natured kind of man, but as little like a Bishop in appearance as I am."

More than a year elapsed in the series of surviving letters before Mr. Gresley again alludes to the Bishop.

In the meanwhile, however, under date of the 24th July, 1824, Bishop Heber, writing near Furrceepore, on his way by river from Dacca, has this allusion to Mr. Gresley:—

"I saw a small pinnacle creeping slowly towards us, amid the long reeds, which we hailed; when it was ascertained who we were, a young officer jumped into the ~~dingy~~ and paddled up towards us, whom I soon recognized to be my old shipmate, Gresley, who, with his companion Lieutenant P—, dined with me. There were few medical applications which could have done me so much good as a motive for an extra glass of wine and the lively conversation of two young men, for one of whom I had a sincere regard."

To this meeting Mr. Gresley alludes thus:—

"*Camp near Budderpore, October 8th, 1824.*—That super-excellent man, the Bishop, I had the pleasure of meeting near Dacca, on his way up the country to visit all his churches, &c. He has undertaken a most Herculean task, that of visiting all the stations belonging to Bengal. He had just sustained a severe loss by the death of his chaplain, Mr. Stowe,* a very worthy man. Mrs. Heber was living at Barrackpore when I left. The Bishop must now be about Delhi. He is very much beloved in this country."

Bishop Heber died in Trichinopoly in 1826. The last letter in this correspondence, in which reference is found to him, is written ten years afterwards, and discusses the merits of the gentle prelate with those of his autocratic and vehement successor.

* The Rev. Martin Stowe died in the presence of the Bishop at Dacca on the 18th July 1824.

Mominabad, September 25, 1836.

"MY DEAR WILLIAM. I see you quote Bishops Heber and Wilson ; these are the only preachers of any note I have ever heard. I think I can give you some characteristic anecdotes of them. With the former I was very intimate, both on the voyage to India and afterwards in Calcutta. He approached nearer to my ideas of perfection than any man I ever met with. His unostentatious piety, his benevolent character, his bonhomie towards all classes, rendered him an universal favourite, while his extensive information on almost all interesting subjects, his fascinating conversation and his great talents as a preacher commanded the admiration of all who heard him. Of Bishop Wilson I saw a good deal at Calcutta and afterwards at Mr. R. Grant's in Bombay. It might be prejudice on my part but I must confess I did not like him ; he was not the pleasant, social companion that Heber was to everyone about him. He talked little, and even when he did talk, it was either in an overbearing dictatorial style or in a condescending one, both of which give offence to many. Some people, however, said that he was right, and that he ought not to allow everyone to be intimate with him, and so forth. For my part, he always gave me the idea of a superior Roman Catholic priest.

"The two Bishops have frequently been compared with each other both as preachers and as members of society ; but two people holding the same situations could hardly be more different in character. In England, I have no doubt that Wilson was in general the most effective preacher. In India the congregations are probably more silent than that you generally address at home. He has a fine voice, and when I at first heard him I was inclined to think that his high character was by no means overrated. It was a charity sermon at the Cathedral, Calcutta, preached apparently extempore and certainly one of the most eloquent harangues I ever heard ; but towards the close of the sermon, after a most eloquent appeal to the feelings on behalf of the poor, when all eyes were fixed upon him and everyone's attention on the stretch, he made a sudden descent from the sublime to the ridiculous thus (after a pause)—I don't mean to say that you are to give to every beggar you meet in the street. For my part, when a beggar applies to me in the street, I always send him to Mr.——(the person who had the distribution of the District Charitable funds). There was an immense congregation. How we all kept our countenances I know not, but I am sure, that, had a titter escaped any one, the whole church would immediately have been convulsed with laughter. Wilson would have shown more on the stage than in the pulpit. I heard him during Lent, and Heber also, both on the same subject (the Decalogue) and perhaps you may best infer their character as preachers from the fact that, of Bishop Wilson's congregation, three-fourths

appeared to be women. Heber's congregations were, I think, equally large, but amongst them were all the literary characters of Calcutta, who made a point of attending his lectures. Wilson I remember preaching upon the 1st or 2nd Commandment, made a direct attack upon Mahomedanism. This was ill-timed; for Deism—pure Deism is the very essence of Mahomed's doctrine, and the Koran inculcates nothing so much as a horror of worshipping idols.

"I must give you an amusing example of Heber's bonhomie, which occurred on board the good ship *Thomas Grenville*. We had made a most rapid passage from England, until we came in sight of the coast off the Juggernath Pagoda in the Bay of Bengal. Here we were becalmed for several days—and a strong current running southward, compelled us to anchor within a few miles off the coast. Whenever a slight breeze sprang up the anchor was heaved up and the sails set; but the breeze seldom enabled us to stem the current, and we were obliged to drop the anchor again; this continued for several days—getting up and dropping the anchor five or six times a day. If you have ever been becalmed at sea for a few days, you must well know the disheartening effect which is produced on the spirits of the crew; the men got sulky, the officers irritable, and every one grumbled. Getting up the anchor in a large Indiaman is no trifle. Every available idler has to lend a hand at the capstan, and it sometimes requires all their exertions to get it up, especially when there was much cable out, as was our case. One day about noon the order was given to heave up the anchor. The part of the crew whose duty it is to work the capstan, gradually emerged from the holes and corners where they had sought refuge from the scorching rays of the sun. Slowly and lazily they fixed the capstan bars, and then leant upon them half asleep waiting for the first mate to put them in motion. 'Round with the capstan,' said the mate, and they commenced their work. In a very short time their progress round the capstan became slower, the clicking became less frequent, and then they came to a standstill. 'Come heave up,' said the chief mate. More hands were put to the bars,—the fifer played the most favourite tunes to coax them on—but no—it wouldn't do; not a click was heard. The mate began to swear, the men to murmur, but it was no use. Presently out came the skipper, Mr.——. 'What's the matter now?' 'I don't know, Sir; the men won't heave the anchor up.' 'Oh!' said the Captain, 'I'll soon teach the lazy scoundrels how to work a capstan. Fo'c's'le there! send the boatswain's mate aft.' 'Aye, aye,' said the midshipman on the fore-castle, but the threat had no effect on the capstan; and it was very clear that the matter must soon come to a crisis. There was the skipper with a determined look evidently prepared to enforce his orders with severity, the chief mate, who was a pretty considerable

'Turk' and a most mischievous-looking fellow, playing with a rope's end, and every now and then casting glances of evil intent towards some of his *favourites* at the capstan bars, and there were the men at the capstan, great hulking lazy fellows, looking as if they would submit to anything rather than exert themselves to get up the anchor. Just at this moment Heber, who with myself and some other passengers was on the poop looking at these proceedings, seeing that an explosion was on the point of taking place which might end in serious consequences, without further ceremony doffed his black camlet jacket, jumped down upon the quarter-deck, and placed himself at one of the capstan bars. Of course we all followed his example. 'Come along, my men,' said the Bishop; 'we'll soon get up the anchor.' The effect was magical: the fellows gave a hum, round went the capstan, and the anchor was up in 'no time.' The men were never sulky afterwards. This may be considered a most undignified proceeding for a Bishop; however, it displayed the goodness of the man and won the hearts of the whole ship's company.

"Heber's delivery as a preacher was not considered good; he had a slight hesitation in his speech, but which though against him when addressing strangers really added, in my opinion, a kind of earnestness to his manner when preaching to those to whom this peculiarity had become familiar. He had not the most distant appearance of the theatrical. He was just what you recommend as the *beau idéal* of an English preacher, his earnest manner and his beautiful (not flowery) language riveted the attention, and the amiable character of the man went not a little way in giving force to his arguments. But he shone particularly on a Sunday morning on the quarter-deck when his sermons, as addressed to the seamen, were given in homely language. Never was there a more attentive congregation than the ship's company of the *Grenville*."



Slavery Days in Old Calcutta.*



THE history of slavery in India goes back to remote antiquity. Its broad principle is distinctly traceable as early as the period of the institution of caste system among the Hindus, by which the Sudras were formally declared as the servile caste and made hereditary bondsmen to the remaining superior sub-divisions of the race. With the inrush of Mussalman invaders and the consequent chaos that overspread the land, slavery would seem to have obtained a fresh and strengthened lease of life. Prisoners of war and unyielding or rebellious foemen were relegated to slavery in large numbers by the conquerors, in conformity with the then prevailing canons of warfare. In some cases, the new-comers did not even hesitate to effect among the vanquished races a compulsory and wholesale conversion to Islam.

When the Europeans first came to India, in the pursuit of commerce, they found slavery established in the land as a commonly accepted institution, which had long since outgrown its original novelty. There were several recognised and prevailing modes by which a person might become a slave : "He might be taken in battle ; he might be bought for a price ; he might be born of slave parents ; he might liquidate his debt by bartering his freedom ; he might form part of a wedding dowry ; he might change owners as part and parcel of the land which he and his forefathers had tilled." Among Mahomedans, who gave India a dynasty of "Slave Kings," kindness to the slave was an inviolable religious injunction, and the Hindu slaves too were, generally speaking, treated humanely. But there was an important difference between the respective status of the Mahomedan and the Hindu slave. The subserviency of the former was purely and strictly secular, while the Hindu laboured under a servility essentially spiritual, and only incidentally, or one should say, consequentially, worldly.

The rise of the East India Company as the predominant political force in the country did not lead to any change in the established order of things. They were rather chary of tampering with time-honoured social institutions ; and, for some considerable time to come, dared not oppose the tide of popular prejudice. It is a historical fact that at one time the Company itself engineered traffic in slaves, as a highly profitable concern. During the

* This article originally appeared in the *Civil and Military Gazette* and is here reproduced by the courteous permission of the Editor of that Journal.

administration of Warren Hastings, it was enacted that a dacoit, in the event of conviction, was to be executed at his native village, and that "the family of the criminal shall become the slaves of the State, and shall be disposed of for the general convenience and benefit of the people according to the discretion of the Government." Over and above this, as a means of avoiding the expenses incurred by the maintenance of gaols, an order was passed that "persons convicted of crime, instead of being incarcerated, should be sold for slaves or transported, as such, to the Company's establishment at Fort Marlborough in Sumatra." Thus, the East India Company formally sanctioned the perpetuation of slavery, and, we read, "slaves were regularly registered in the Court House, where a duty of Rs. 4 and annas 4 a head was paid."

During the eighteenth century, the Portuguese, among European settlers, earned an unenviable notoriety for their activity in the propagation of slavery. The Sunderbunds, by reason of the facility it afforded for piratical excursions, formed the head-quarters of their nefarious enterprise. As late as 1760, the neighbourhood of Akra, Budge Budge, was infested by slaveships belonging to the Portuguese and their disreputable allies, the Mughls; and they were held in such terror, that, about 1770, a chain was run across the river at Mukwah Fort (the site of the present residence of the Superintendent of the Botanical Gardens) to protect the port of Calcutta against them.

The following account is extracted from the *East India Chronicle* for 1758:—

"February 1717, the Mugs carried off from the most southern parts of Bengal, 1,800 men, women and children; in ten days they arrived at Arrakan, and were conducted before the Sovereign, who chose the handicraftsmen, about one-fourth of the number, as his slaves. The remainder were returned to the captors, with ropes about their necks, to market (*sic*), and sold, according to their strength, from 20 to 70 Rs. each. They were by their purchasers, sent to cultivate the land, and had 15 seers of rice each, allowed for their monthly support. Soon after this, the Sovereign, Duppung Gerec, was deposed by his Cutwal, Kuddul Poree; 25 men and a woman of the captives took advantage of the disturbances, fled, and arrived at Chittagong in the following June. Almost three-fourths of the inhabitants of Arrakan are said to be natives of Bengal, or descendants of such, who pray that the English may deliver them, and they have agreed among themselves to assist their deliverers. From time immemorial, the Mugs have plundered the southern parts of Bengal, and have even been so hostile as to descend on the coast of Chittagong and proceed into the country, plunder and burn the villages, destroy what they could not carry away, and carry the

inhabitants into slavery. But since the cession of the province to the Company, the place for the most part has enjoyed quiet."

In Behar, we read, "numbers of boys of tender age were bought by dealers, and mutilated so as to grow up as suitable servants for the harems of rich lords, and little girls were disposed of to evil characters, to be brought up to lives of shame and vice."

In the latter half of the eighteenth century, slavery attained a widespread vogue throughout the length and breadth of the land. It flourished more particularly in the larger towns, having come to be regarded as one of the indispensable conditions of normal domestic life. Calcutta itself became an important centre of slavery. The following statement made in 1785, by Sir William Jones, Chief Judge of the Supreme Court of Calcutta, will be read with interest.

"Hardly a man or woman exists, in a corner of this populous town, who hath not at least one slave child, either purchased at a trifling price, or saved for a life that seldom fails of being miserable. Many of you, I presume, have seen large boats filled with such children, coming down the river for open sale at Calcutta. Nor can you be ignorant that most of them were stolen from their parents, or bought perhaps for a measure of rice in time of scarcity."

The above statements are amply confirmed by the following correspondence which was published in the *Bengal Chronicle* of February 1831:—"That slavery exists in Calcutta is a fact too notorious to be denied. I am led to this remark from a thorough knowledge of its actual existence, as also from being a frequent eye-witness of the extreme cruelty practised towards the generality of that neglected class, who are kept in such an abject state of blind ignorance and dread of the police, that although suffering the greatest of hardships, hardly one would have the courage to enter the precincts of justice. Slaves of both sexes are generally purchased from indigent Hindu or Hindustani mothers; a young girl will bring, according to her age and usefulness, from Rs. 16 up to Rs. 100. This traffic is generally resorted to by the Catholics to supply themselves with domestics; and I am sorry to say, a few, who profess the Protestant faith, though only in outward appearance, are also concerned in this inhuman traffic."

The perpetuation of slavery, at this time, constituted an indispensable condition of luxurious living. The following advertisements, reproduced from old Calcutta Journals of 1780, serve to indicate its immense vogue: "Wanted—Two Coffrees who can play very well on the French Horn and are otherwise handy and useful about a house, relative to the business of a consumer (*sic*), or that of a cook; they must not be fond of liquor. Any person or persons having such to dispose of, will be treated with by applying to the printer."

"Wanted—a Coffree slave boy; any person desirous of disposing of such a boy and can warrant him a faithful and honest servant, will please to apply to the printer."

"To be sold—Two French Horn men, who dress hair and shave, and wait at table."

"Strayed—From the service of his mistress, a slave boy aged twenty years, or thereabout, pretty white or colour of musty, tall and slender, broad between the cheek-bones, and marked with the small-pox. It is requested that no one after the publication of this will employ him as a writer, or in any other capacity, and any person or persons who will apprehend him and give notice thereof to the printer of this paper, shall be rewarded for their trouble."

"Strayed—From the house of Mr. Robert Duncan in the China bazar, on Thursday last, a Coffree boy about 12 years old named Inday; whoever brings back the same shall receive reward of one gold *mohur*."

"To be sold—A fine Coffree boy that understands the business of a butler, *kitmutga*, and cooking. Price four hundred *Sica* rupees. Any gentleman wanting such a servant, may see him, and be informed of further particulars by applying to the printer."

And all this was barely a hundred and odd years ago! Well may the Calcuttaite of to-day marvel at the wonderful transformation which the city has undergone with the passage of years.*

The unfortunate slaves not infrequently received the most brutal treatment at the hands of their owners and masters. A contemporary writer mentions that "slave girls, for the slightest offence, and on the most trivial occasions, receive corporal punishment, entirely at the will and pleasure of their owners and I know many instances where punishments have been inflicted in a greater degree and by a more severe method than the criminal receives, who has offended the laws of his country. The common method of punishment resorted to is to tie them up, strip them to the skin (even grown up girls of the age of sixteen and seventeen are not exempted) before the male domestics, and flog them with a rattan in the most-cruel and barbarous manner; another method of punishment, which I conceive to be proportionate with the first, is taking them to the well, in one of December's coldest mornings, and having a number of *kulsies* of water thrown over them in quick succession, so as hardly to give the sufferer time to draw breath." There is on record a case of fatal maltreatment accorded to a slave-girl, named Nasibun, by her mistress, Maria Davis, in 1828. On the other hand, there

* [With the publications of the Calcutta Society for the Protection of Children, one might well wish for a little more "transformation." The Society is making a heroic endeavour to suppress the still enormous trading in children for immoral purposes.—*Editor, Bengal: Past and Present.*]

are instances of bondsmen and women having received exemplary kindness at the hands of their owners, who extended to them the same treatment as that of a member of the family. One sometimes lights upon wills executed in those days in which it is instructed that the slaves of the testator were to be given a certain amount of money, or freedom, on his death, or both. A writer records that the wife of the Reverend Zachariah Kiernander, the founder of the Old Mission Church in Calcutta, had two slaves who were "bound to their mistress by the bonds of affection as well as of service." It was the custom among Hindus to feed and clothe slaves, to give them a cash present on the birth of each child, and to defray the wedding expenses of such as were permitted to marry, while with the Mahomedans it not infrequently happened that a slave-girl was promoted to the seraglio and allowed to set up as her master's favourite wife.

During the latter half of the eighteenth century, a strong wave of disapproval and dislike of slavery in general, swept over the civilised countries of Europe, and notably England, and it was hardly to be expected that the East India Company would long remain uninfluenced by the trend of public opinion. The Company had assumed the Government of the Country from Mahomedan rulers, who had recognised legalised bondage, and as most of the Moslem laws for the administration of justice had been unavoidably retained in their entirety, the enactments pertaining to slavery were perpetuated under the Company. The work of reform must needs have been slow, but it could not be indefinitely put off. That flagrant relic of barbarism could not survive for long in the face of the progressive impulses which contact with a liberty-loving and enlightened race engendered. The exportation of slaves was forbidden by a Proclamation in 1789, and their importation from Arabia and other countries was put a stop to in 1811. The sale of agrarian slaves by Government officials for the recovery of revenue was also prohibited in 1819. But these measures, on account of legal and technical difficulties, did not at once meet with the amount of success they deserved. The orders for the abolition of slavery were held to be inoperative, by reason of its long usage, and implied sanction by the Mahomedan law, which was still the law of British India. The Charter of 1833 tacitly sanctioned slavery, for, though it did not authorise or prohibit traffic in slaves, it could not very well help recognising their existence. Consequently, although the Court of Justice desisted from the sale of slaves for the recovery of revenue in pursuance of the official orders, private owners continued to buy and sell them.

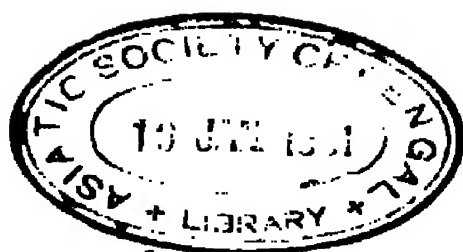
In 1831 the British Government emancipated all the slaves of the Crown. In 1833 the administration of Earl Grey formally abolished slavery, with effect from the 1st August 1845. Lest, however, an enormous multitude of

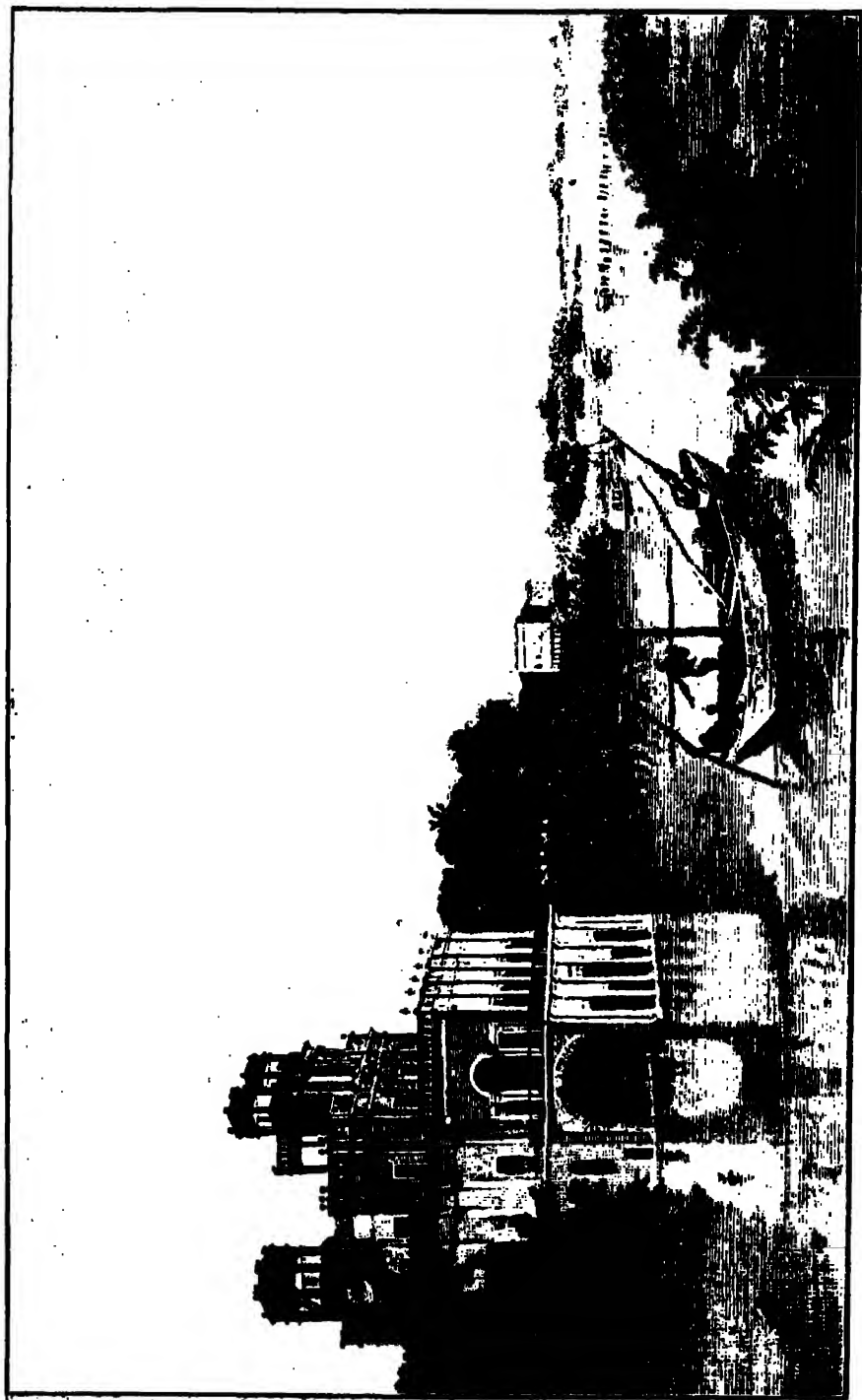
slaves should all at once be set free to the possible detriment of the country, it was enacted that domestic slaves were to be apprenticed to their late masters for four years and agrarian slaves for a period of six years. All children under six years of age, however, were ordered to be immediately liberated.

It is unnecessary to mark in detail the further steps of emancipation. Gradually, but nevertheless surely, the traces of slavery were effaced from the land, and the cause of liberty and humanity triumphed ultimately, over the forces of prejudice and demoralisation, after a prolonged struggle.

SYUD HOSSAIN.







Some Notices of General Claud Martin.

I.

THE EUROPEAN MAGAZINE.

Vol. XVII. Jan.—June 1790, pp. 86-87.

AN ACCOUNT OF COLONEL MARTIN'S VILLA, NEAR LUCKNOW,
IN THE EAST INDIES.
(With a Plate.)



AS a monument of European taste and elegance in a remote part of the world, near eight hundred miles within land in the north of India, a short account of the accompanying engraving done from a drawing taken on the spot in the year 1784, may prove acceptable to some of our readers; and will point out, among many other instances of British taste displayed in the East, how ill-founded the assertion of a celebrated gentleman has been, viz., "That were we to be driven out of India this day, nothing would remain to tell that it had been possessed during the inglorious period of our dominion, by anything better than the ourang-outang or the tiger."* The contrary had long, previous to this assertion, been established in every part of India where British subjects reside; and here by the ingenious owner of the above, Colonel Claud Martin, in this and other instances, to the great benefit and improvement of the arts in those parts. Indeed, in justice to this gentleman, it ought to be observed, that the East India Company have been much indebted to his skill on many important occasions, during thirty years of his honourable and faithful services, in almost every department, particularly when their footing in that country was yet in its infant state. A gentleman, who having some years ago beheld the spot on which the above elegant building stands, partly over-run with reeds and brambles, says: "The effect, which the change it had undergone produced on my mind on viewing it afterwards, was attended with a pleasing reflection on the advantages attending works of taste and magnificence in every country; but more

* *Vide* Mr. Burke's famous speech of the 1st of December 1783, on Mr. Fox's India Bill, page 39, printed for J. Dodsley [Doddley?], Pall Mall.

particularly when found in such situations as from the state of the arts there, make the display of the former more meritorious, when, as in the present case, superior skill directs the inexperienced hand; for there is no part of the building in question but what was performed by the natives of the neighbouring mean built city, under the direction of Colonel Martin; nor is there any such, or one corresponding with its decorations, existing within the sphere of their observation in that part of the country." It is situated near the city of Lucknow, in the province of Oude, and is, perhaps, for its elegance and numerous conveniences, adapted to the different seasons of India, the completest private building for its size in that part of the world. It is built with brick stuccoed, partly on piers sunk within the current of the river Goomty, which runs with violent rapidity during the periodical rains, joining the Ganges about ten miles to the eastward of the city of Benares. To enter on a detail of the various conveniences and decorations of this place, would swell the description beyond what the nature of our work would admit the insertion of: for these we must refer to the drawing.

You approach the house on the land side through an arched gateway, sufficiently lofty to admit an elephant with its turret; at some distance from this you enter the shrubbery through a winding walk, ornamented with the richest vegetable productions of India and China, with such of those of Europe as thrive in that climate. On your arrival close to the house, a drawbridge first presents itself thrown over a moat surrounding the building on the land side, communicating with the river, from which it can be filled at pleasure, either for the purpose of cooling the lower apartments or that of defence from the sudden attacks of banditti or rebels. This latter purpose of its construction will not appear very consistent with European notions of modern buildings, and renew our ideas of feydal jealousy. It is here, however, a most useful precaution, for the want of which Colonel Martin was near suffering severely in a neighbouring habitation during Chiet Sing's rebellion, when a body of rebels drew up in front of it to attack it, and had he not placed two small field-pieces at his doors, loaded with grape-shot, and himself at the head of his servants armed, which obliged the former to retreat. If the fine villas on Choultry Plain, in the neighbourhood of Madras, had had some such protection, perhaps they would not have suffered as they did in the late war, from Hyder's parties of horse. From the bridge you ascend by a few steps to an elegant piazza, commanding a prospect of the pleasure grounds, where you enter a beautiful and spacious hall of an octagon form, with the doors leading into the various apartments with which it is surrounded on three sides, so disposed as to admit at pleasure a free current of air through them from every quarter. This leads to one of the finest rooms in India for size, proportion and finishing, built on the arch in the river; the

prospect from hence over the latter, toward the Faizabad road, does not contain much variety, but is richly interspersed with mango groves and corn fields; that of Lucknow from one of the end windows promises a much finer city than on entering it exhibits. After passing through two smaller apartments, communicating with this room and the octagon hall, you descend to a range on a level with the river, containing baths and fountains—the latter so disposed as to keep playing with advantage in the equal distribution of water against the windows, which, when the hot winds prevail during the spring months, are kept covered in the day time with frames filled with green brambles; these, being kept constantly wet by the fountains, cool the wind in its passage into the apartments, and thereby procure a constant temperature within, proportioned to the strength of the wind abroad, and capacity of the frames to retain the water dripping. The upper apartments, with their terraces and turrets, are principally disposed for the purpose of sleeping in the open air, and recreation during the nights of the hot season. The observatory is well supplied with philosophical apparatus.

There are few modern productions of arts calculated for instruction, that could be transported hither from Europe, but what are to be found amongst some of the various collections deposited here by Colonel Martin, with many proofs of his own superior talents and ingenuity, to the great delight of the intelligent traveller and neighbouring natives, to which the famous Zoffanij* bore testimony when lately at this place.

We are the more happy in having it in our power to present our readers with the above, as this building and its contents have not a little contributed to impress the less-informed of the natives of that remote part of the country with just ideas of the superiority of European taste and knowledge.

*THE EUROPEAN MAGAZINE (Vol. XXXIX, January-June, 1801,
pp. 329-333).*

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "EUROPEAN MAGAZINE."

March 25, 1801.

SIR,

The latest dispatches from Bengal brought advice of the demise of Major-General *Claud Martin*. As an extraordinary personage who raised himself from the lowly situation of a *private trooper* to respectable *rank* in the army, as well as to a very uncommon degree of *opulence*, a connected memoir of his life may prove, perhaps, neither unacceptable to your general readers nor to his surviving friends and companions.

* Zoffany.

Claude Martin was a native of the *Lyonnois*, sprung from a humble lineage, principally employed in the more toilsome and ordinary occupations of the *silk-manufactory*, the staple of that province, which first excited, perhaps, the *mechanical propensity* he afterwards displayed. Some of his kindred reside at this time, it seems, in or near *Lyons*, enabled by his pecuniary and (though he often complained bitterly of their *neglect* and of their inattention to him during his state of indigence) to traffic *wholesale* in the superior branches of *that* commerce, to which they could precedently contribute in *retail* only, by their manual labour.

In his youth, but not very early, he became a *soldier*, and not long after was draughted into a troop of light dragoons, incorporated for the purpose of accompanying *Count Lally* to *India*, there to form his bodyguard.

The *Count*, though a gentleman of talents, intelligence, knowledge of the world, and of pre-eminent skill and gallantry in his *profession*, was unhappily cursed with an irritation and impatience of temper, as galling to others as harrasing to himself. Naturally imperious and opinionated, conceited of his rank, and presumptuous of his descent, he, on his arrival at Pondicherry, unluckily encountered persons in the administration there the very reverse in every particular of himself; *Raturiers* [*sic*] in extraction, neither estimable for their intellectual or practical qualifications, and destitute of all political enterprise; mere mercantile *automata*, in short, devoted only to commercial or speculative operations; neither of their persons or understandings could his arrogance, for one moment, whether in their presence or absence, suppress the emotions of his contempt and aversion. To that excess, indeed, did his antipathy extend as to impel him to erect a gibbet in front of the *Council House*, "in terrorem" to their deliberations. Although not actually thus insulting and supercilious to his *own officers*, numbers of whom were noblemen and *chevaliers* of distinction more illustrious than his *own*; yet were they commanded by him with so rigid, so *vexatious* a discipline and authority, as to constrain many of them indignantly to relinquish the service and retire to *Europe*, and the soldiers attached to them, in consequence to desert in numbers, a *secession* productive, some few years after, of his *arraignment* and *execution*.

Amongst others which thus abandoned their colours was the entire *corps* that constituted the *Count's* cavalry guard, who went off *in a body* with their horses, arms and accoutrements.

They were favourably received by the *English* Commander-in-Chief, almost immediately nominated by him to the same confidential station they had occupied in the *French* camp, and never once gave him occasion to repent of the generous credit he had anticipated to them.

* *Claude Martin* was then private in that very troop, and early noted by several officers for his spirited activity in different encounters. The *French* forces being the same year defeated in various engagements, *Pondicherry* surrendering, and the *Peace of Paris* being proclaimed, the Government of *Madras* licensed several foreigners to enlist recruits from the *captured regiments* for the *Presidency of Fort William*, and *Claude Martin*, countenanced by the Commander-in-Chief, raised accordingly, a company of *chasseurs* from the *French* prisoners and received a subaltern's commission to command them.

Not many weeks then elapsed before this company destined for *Bengal* was embarked on board an old country vessel, called the *Fatty Salam*, far too deeply laden, not only with salt in bulk, but with mortars and other large iron ordnance, shot, and stores taken in *Pondicherry*. But she had scarcely proceeded half way up the *Bay* before she sprang a leak and almost immediately foundered. A few only of the passengers and crew escaped in the ship's boats. Of the number saved *Ensign Martin* was fortunately *one*, who after divers perils and hardships encountered on the

* *Copy of a letter from Colonel Malleison, Historian of the French in India to Mr. J. W. H. Stokart, Principal, Lucknow Martinière.*

MYSORE, 9th July 1873.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have just received your note of 2nd instant.

By to-day's post I send you a little *brochure* (in French) by M. Octave Sachot, which contains all that I have been able to find out regarding the earlier career of the founder of the *Martinière*.

Some three or four years ago, at the request of M. Sachot, I made every possible enquiry regarding him. I applied to the late General Broome, who had made the history of those times a special study, and I searched through the annals bearing upon those times. The results I communicated to M. Sachot, and he has used them in his pamphlet.

With reference to the question of desertion from the *French*, a crime generally attributed to *Martin*, and from which M. Sachot absolves him, I may say that it is clear that *Claude Martin* did not belong, as has been generally supposed, to the *Bodyguard* which did desert, but to the *Regiment of Lorraine* which did not. He was, in fact, taken prisoner. * The mistake arose from the fact that there were two *Martins* in the *Bodyguard*, neither of whom, however, bore the name of "*Claude*." I extract the following from a note in the *East India Military Calendar*, Vol. II, page 75: "All the others, being prisoners of war, were sent to *Bengal*, where a number of them engaged in the *Company's* service and were placed under M. *Claude Martine*, their countryman, who had formerly served in the *Regiment of Lorraine*."

I will look through the *Annual Register* for any further details on the subject, and, should I find any, I shall not fail to communicate them to you.

Believe me,
Yours very faithfully,
G. B. MALLEISON.

Page ii. of cover.—General *Martin's* medal (or coin).—On the obverse he appears in the uniform of the *Honourable East India Company*, in whose service he died a *Major General*. On the reverse are

Const. at length reached *Calcutta* in a very desolate plight. Relief from Government was presently, however, administered to *him*, and his few surviving forlorn *fellow-sufferers*, his *immediate* wants supplied and his *future ones* provided for, by placing him as *cornet* in a squadron of *cavalry*. In that capacity he continued, till by advancing in regular succession, he at length obtained a *company of infantry*; when being conversant in *surveying*, he was selected to trace and to delineate some of the *North-East Districts of Bengal*. He remained thus engaged for some years, till, being directed to assist in surveying the *Province of Oude*, he fixed his principal residence at the *capital, Lucknow*, where displaying singular ingenuity and versatility of contrivance in the casting of cannon, constructing of carriages, fabrication of arms, manufacturing powder and sundry other mechanical processes, the *Visir* solicited, and obtained permission for him, from the *Governor and Council*, to superintend his artillery, armoury and arsenal.

Yet notwithstanding so *mechanically disposed*, *Captain Martin* was by no means principled in *science* or conversant in *erudition*. *Pure abstract mathematics* constituted no part of his studies or pursuits; but *merely* as an *imitator*, there were few *engines* or *models of machines*, indeed, which he could not *empirically* fabricate, either from inspection or some perspicuous descriptions of them. When embarrassed, however, by any multiform involution of parts or complexity of structure, the superior *perceptive* intelligence and geometrical information of his two intimate friends and

titles in Persian almost as high-sounding as some of those conferred on Lord Clive, Lord Lake, and others by the Great Mogul :—

"Distinguished Noble, Honoured Lord, Sword of the Country, General Claude Martin Bahadur, mighty in Battle," the date given being in Hijra 1211, corresponding to A.D. 1796.

These medals, which are in all respects like coins, may still be seen in gold and silver and copper. A "complete coining machine" was advertised in the *Calcutta Gazette*, 18th December 1800, as being for sale amongst General Martin's effects.

Page ii. of cover.—Major-General Claude Martin, son of a cooper of Lyons, was born in 1735; embarked for India as a private soldier in the French Army in 1751, and afterwards served under Count Lally de Tollendal in the Regiment of Lorraine, one of the bravest of the brave regiments under Lally. This gallant regiment was true to its salt, and stuck to its colours from first to last, right down to the final capture of Pondicherry by Sir Eyre Coote in 1761. As the contemporary historian (Orme), speaking of that surrender, says :—

"The Grenadiers of Lorraine and Lally. . . from their first landing, throughout all the services of the field and all the distresses of the blockade, not a man of them had ever deserted to the English colours. . . . The victor soldier (Colonel Coote) gave his sigh to this solemn contemplation of the fate of war which might have been his own."

When the struggle between the English and the French ended, "M. Claude Martin, who had formerly served in the Lorraine Regiment," received a commission as Ensign (1763) in the Army of the Honourable East India Company, stipulating that he should never be required to fight against the French. He remained an Officer to the day of his death—13th September 1800—and rendered the Company excellent service in many ways. By his Will he founded and endowed the Martinère Schools at Calcutta, Lucknow, and Lyons.

constant associates, *Colonel Foker* and *Le Pere Wendel*, a German *ex-Jesuit*, were of eminent utility to him.

From this period may be dated the commencement of *Captain Martin's* unremitted prosperity.

In order to *ensure* his continuance at *Lucknow*, the ultimate aim of all his purposes, he judiciously proposed to the *Council at Calcutta* (always like their masters, in the extremes of *niggardly parsimony* or *prodigal profusion*) to relinquish his title to further *pay* and *allowances* from the *East India Company*. The remission was *sordidly* accepted, and on that *express condition*, his establishment at *Lucknow*, became confirmed.

During all the succeeding revolutions and changes, both in the *Vizir's* and in the *English* administrations, the real unaffected good nature and obliging condescending deportment of *Captain Martin*, conspicuous in a thousand little grateful assiduities, conciliated the good-will of individuals of every distinction. To *gentlemen* in *opposition*, as well as to those in *power*, he continually transmitted *such articles* of natural history, literature, antiquity and manufacture, *as not being costly enough* to offend the *punctilious delicacy* of *casuistical scruples*, or *conscientious integrity*, yet from their *curiousness and scarcity* could not but prove highly *acceptable*: and to their *ladies*, what is defined to be the *essence of an elegant present*, *rarities* that cannot be purchased for money, nor—I had almost said—for *love itself*. Nor was a *refresher* now and then wanting to his *illustrious patrons* to revive their memorials of him. To this intent was ransacked the remotest tracts of *Cashmere*, *Napaul*, *Candahar* and other regions, from the frontiers of *Oude* to the confines of *Tartary*, which by means of his agents, *Catholic Missionaries*, *Hindoo Merchants*, *Mussulman Caravans* and his own immediate agents, became the extensive circles of his perpetual research. *Persian* horses, ermines, sables, shawls, finest linens, tissues, feathers, *atah*, pictures, illuminated manuscripts, medals, coins and gems were accordingly collected, for his selection, from every quarter, *encouragingly* purchased, and then liberally distributed by him, for the *undeviating purpose of retaining his situation with the Vizir*.

To every *recommendation* also, either from his civil or his military connections, was he peculiarly attentive—his house, table and services being the receptacle, the accommodation and the auxiliary of every gentleman provided with those amicable credentials.

Nor to support an expense so considerable were his means incommensurate. From the *Vizir* he received *honourable allowance*, exclusive of emoluments accruing from the provision of stores and materials for his magazines and works. The confidence and patronage of the *Ministers* was productive also of pecuniary advantages to him; for though not often seen

at the *Durbar*, nor *ostensibly* confederate in their councils, they seldom failed to advise with him on every political procedure, whether foreign or internal ; the *emissaries* of the *Court*, usually repairing to his house, *incognito* during an *evening*, to discuss the measures in contemplation. Furnishing the *Vizir* from Calcutta with all kinds of choice and valuable productions of *European* invention or manufacture, was another and not inconsiderable source of profit to him ; and still further benefits resulted to his fortune from a reputable credit established amongst the *skroffs* and merchants both in *Oude* and the contiguous provinces : so that few *public loans* or other *fiscal* speculations were adopted, independently of his concurrence and participation ; the capitals whereof were ascertained to the creditors by the security of landed property with an *interest* of not less than 12 per cent. To which may be added accessions of gain from *private partnerships* with natives as well as *foreign* traders, in the transport of sugar, cloths, indigo, grain, etc., etc., to Bengal from the upper provinces.

The greatest increase of wealth, however, was derived to him from quantities of *pledges* or *deposits* ; of all sorts of sumptuous, splendid and precious commodities confided to his care, in times of alarm, commotion, distress, or of impending danger, by persons of every description and denomination, as the safest preservative for their property under an oppressive unsettled Government they could, on the instant and unpremeditatedly, devise. For this protection, *adequate consideration* from the parties was, of course, *understood* whilst a portion of the articles themselves were, perhaps, never afterwards reclaimed or redeemed.

In this career of *hourly* accumulation did he pass about twenty-five years of his life.

During the infancy of their military institutions, the East India Company had interdicted the rank of Field Officer to *aliens* or *foreigners*. By intercession of numerous friends, this *bar* to advancement was, however, suspended in favour of *Captain Martin*, who, in consequence, succeeded progressively to the degrees of *Major* and of *Lieutenant-Colonel*, under the *premised restrictive stipulation* respecting his appointments.

Upon the infraction of the *Mysore* treaties in 1792, *Lieutenant-Colonel Martin* presented the *East India Company*, at his *private expense*, with as many horses as served to mount a *troop of cavalry*, proffering at the same time his *own services* during the war in the *Carnatic*. The *donation* was accepted, and his public spirit first rewarded with the commission of *full Colonel*, and, when the *Provincial officers* became entitled to *brevets* from his *Majesty*, with the rank of *Major-General*.

After this promotion, declining into the vale of years, he exhausted his leisure between *Lucknow* and a *villa* on a pleasant spot about fifty miles from

thence, situated on a high bank of the *Ganges*, and surrounded by a domain of about eight miles in compass much resembling an *English Park or chase*.

Some years preceding his retirement from active service, he had constructed a spacious and lofty house on the borders of the *Goomtye* (or *Meander*) wherein there was nothing of wood except doors and window frames. Elliptic arches of masonry vaulted the ceilings and stucco terraced all the floors. The basement story, comprising two kinds of caves on recesses, within the banks of the river, was level with its surface, when at its extreme decrease; and within the lowest of these retreats did he dwell, till the annual floods swelling the stream, constrained him to ascend to the second grotto, and then again to a third apartment, till the highest elevation of the waters raised him to the ground floor; so that he remained perfectly cool and comfortable during the entire inclemency of the solstitial heats and periodical rains. A handsome saloon, elevated on arcades projecting over the current, and forming a piazza to the two inferior cells, accommodated him in the spring and winter seasons. Two more upper stories contained a museum crowned with an excellent observatory replete with an astronomical set of instruments, exceeded by very few in Europe, unparalleled in Asia. To this mansion appertained, also, an extensive garden, cultivated not only with trees, shrubs and flowers, but with many species of excellent grain and pulse although the General had little knowledge, probably, of the terms of *Cryptogamia*, *gynandria*, or *masculine ladies*, or of plants being crossed in love, like the oyster of the critic, or of their cuckolding their paramours, like the *Nigella*, or *Devil in a Bush*, and the *Colinsonia* of the sexual system.

Within the precincts of his artillery yard was erected a steam engine, sent from *England*; and he even fabricated balloons, however uninstructed in the vocabulary of gases, whether of hydrogen, oxygen, mephitic, azote or carbon; or unacquainted with coloric, phlogiston and all the gibberish of chemical nomenclature, ever fluctuating and perpetually changeable, in consequence either of recent discoveries or detected errors. When he had exhibited his first small balloon, the Vizir requested he would prepare one capacious enough to carry up twenty men. The General represented to his Excellency the hazard of such an experiment to the lives of the aerial voyagers, when he hastily replied, "Give yourself no concern about them. Do you make the balloon, and I'll make them go up, I warrant you."

About the middle of the year 1798, the General expressed an inclination to return to Europe and wrote to a friend for advice on this intention. In answer, his friend begged to know, where he could exist so happily and securely as in his present situation? Already possessed of fine estates, comfortable habitations, delightful gardens, handsome equipages, field sports

innumerable, an excellent stud, an amusing and instructive library, philosophical apparatus, sociable and agreeable companions, lovely women, choicest wines, delicious fruits, festal garlands, fragrance in profusion, with a luxuriance of delicacies for convivial entertainment ("*chere entiere*" in short); in what part of the world could he experience more *ample gratifications* and enjoyments? His *correspondent* represented to him, at the same time, the wildness of the times, *ancient* principles and opinions being all afloat; the insecurity of every part of *Europe*, and one State alone in the known world, that of the *American Confederation*, affording personal sanctuary or refuge for *moveable property*; and he described France, Spain, Austria, Holland, Prussia, Hungary, Sweden, Denmark, the Palatinates, Russia, Italy, Switzerland and all the hauxatic towns and imperial cities of Germany, so *exhausted*, and so exceedingly *disarranged* in their *finances*, that *thirty years* of undisturbed repose would at least be required before they could any of them, even with the *strictest economy*, diminish their *taxes*, or reduce so much of their *national debts* as might prove competent to render their *funds* efficiently *responsible* to the *proprietors*.

Amongst his latest avocations, the *General* amused himself with designing a *stronghold*, or rather *castle*, similar to those of the Paramount Lords, the Seizeurs and Barons of the age of chivalry. Beneath the *battlements* were *cusements*, secured by massive iron doors and gratings thickly wrought. Every *lodgement* within the walls was substantially *arched* and *barred*, and all their roofs rendered completely *bomb proof*. Around the *castle* was excavated a wide and deep *moat* fortified without by *stockades*, in a covert way, and *barricaded* within by works, rendered impregnable to sudden insult from any *Asiatic Power*. Within this *Fortress*, though not entirely finished at the time of his decease, he has desired to be interred.

A few more unconnected incidents closes this narrative. For some years after he kept house at *Lucknow*, his *table* (to which, however, strangers as well as acquaintances were always welcome) was served in a careless slovenly manner, and with most abominable *vianads* more resembling the *green* and *yellow* dinners of a *Spanish* or *Portuguese* Ambassador, or the ordinaries of *French* or *Italian* "*tables d'hôte*" than the neat comfortable repasts of an *English Officer*. Latterly, however, his *economy* expanded into a more decent and select expenditure, sparing no cost in provisions, or in *cooks* to prepare them for the entertainment of his guests.

Notwithstanding his long residence with the English, he acquired the language but very imperfectly; yet would he scarcely ever refrain from *attempting* to converse in *English* such as it was, or to write it *still worse* even to those whom he *well* knew both spoke and wrote in French with correctness and fluency.

From leading a life at *Lucknow* more *sedentary* than heretofore, and from discontinuance of exercise on horseback, he became sensibly attacked with *nephritic* paroxysms. Of his reduction of *one stone* by means of an exceeding fine, slender, steel *file* rounded off at the top and the edges and introduced through a *catheter*, into the *bladder*, he is said to have transmitted the particulars to some *Medical Society* in *London*. *Surgeons* in *England*, deny we are told, the possibility of such an operation without inducing a *mortification* of the parts, or exempt from *spasms* productive of immediate dissolution, although the fact is not lightly attested, it seems, by professional gentlemen in *Bengal*, who superintended the process, the agonies he endured from it, and the discharge of the gravelly and sandy concretions.

Amongst other *valuable treasures*, he possessed a *circular pink diamond* something broader than a *half guinea* of the purest lustre; the most *pellucid*, brilliant and *perfect jewel*, perhaps in the world, uniting in itself the beauties of the *ruby* and the *adamant*. When placed in the corner of a black hat, or rubbed against any rough woollen cloth, within a darkened room, *vivid scintillations* of light were evidently discernible from it.

What may be the amount of his considerable *fortune* is not yet, I believe, precisely ascertained, though if computed by the opportunities he had of acquirement for such a series of years, it must be *great indeed*. Report assigns a principal portion of it to have been bequeathed for the support of *Charitable Institutions* and *Endowments*, but *improvidently* consigned to the management of *Private Trustees*, instead of being committed to the conduct of some *immutable establishment*, such as the *Great Officers of State*, or some *Permanent Corporation*. Vested in *private* assignment, *few* are the pious mortmain benefactions, after the expiration of a few years, dispensed according to the will and *intentions* of the *testators*.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
TRIBUNUS.



Some Notes Relative to Places of Historical Interest in the Hughli District.



THE district of Hughli, though one of the smallest in Bengal, covering an area of only 1,191 square miles, is historically the most interesting in the province. Its story does not run back to time immemorial, as does that of some Indian districts. Its early history is comprised in a few references to Satgaon, which was for long the most important town in Bengal. But Satgaon is so old that little remains to show the modern visitor the site of the ancient city which flourished on the river Saraswati nearly two thousand years ago.

About the middle of the fourteenth century the Musalmans conquered Bengal, but the date is by no means certain. About A.D. 1340, Shah Safi gained a great victory over the Hindu Raja of Pandua, in commemoration of which was erected the Pandua Minar, said to be the oldest building in Bengal; though no one would think so to look at it, for, since it was thoroughly repaired by the Public Works Department in the first three months of 1907: it looks brand new.

The historical interest of Hughli district is entirely European, and dates back only three or four centuries. Here, on the banks of the Bhagirathi, within a few miles of each other, six European nations, Portuguese, Dutch, English, French, Danes, and Flemings, founded settlements and struggled with each other, first for trade and then for empire. The first comers were the Portuguese, who visited Bengal for the first time about 1518 and began to frequent the Hughli river as traders about 1530. But Portugal was already, even at this time, a decaying power, and the Portuguese never recovered from the capture of their fort by Kasim Khan, under the orders of Shah Jahan, in 1632. The Dutch came next, almost immediately after the ruin of the Portuguese power, in 1632. The English first settled at Hughli about 1651, the French at Chandernagar about 1676, the Danes about 1698 at Gondalpara in the southern portion of what is now the French territory, a place still sometimes called Danemardanga. It was not for another half-century that the Danes occupied Serampore, in 1755. The Ostend Company

(Flemings) had a brief but disastrous history in Bengal, their settlement at Banki Bazar, the modern Garulla, on the east bank of the river, being occupied only for about ten years, 1723 to 1733.

The name Hughli is said to have been bestowed upon the town on account of the large quantity of reeds, *bagla* (बागला), which used to line the river banks at this place. These reeds may still be seen here and there, but are by no means a prominent feature of the landscape now. The river takes its name from the town, not *vice versa*. The real name of the river is, of course, the Bhagirathi; but it gradually came to be known to the early voyagers as the Hughli river, or river of Hughli, *i.e.*, the river on which the town of Hughli stands.

Until quite recent times the spelling of Indian proper names, of persons or places, was very much a matter of personal choice, and the variations of spelling the name Hughli to be found in different old works are numerous.

The following are some which I have noted from time to time :—

Ogouli	...	Bernier, p. 439.
Ougly	...	Delestre, p. 188.
Golin	...	Godinho.
Gollye	...	In a letter from Robert Hughes and John Parker, at Patna, to the East India Co., November 30th, 1620. (<i>Foster's English Factories in India</i> , 1618-1621, p. 213.)
Huygly	...	Fryer, <i>Travels</i> , p. 38 (published 1698).
Hugly	}	Various old documents, quoted in the notes to Colonel Yule's edition of <i>Hedges' Diary</i> .
Hughley		
Hughly		
Hukely		
Hukley		
Hewgly	}	
Hewghly		
Hughly	...	Hamilton, beginning of 18th century.
Houghley	...	Ives, middle of 18th century.
Hougly	...	Stavorinus, latter part of 18th century.
Hougly	{	Warren Hastings' letter of 3rd November 1772, quoted in Hunter's <i>Annals of Rural Bengal</i> , p. 395.
Houghly		
Hughley	{	Sir Phillip Francis, 1779. (<i>Busteed's Echoes of Old Calcutta</i> .)
Hughely		
Hooghley	...	Proceedings of Council of 29th November 1763, quoted in Long's <i>Selections</i> .
Hugell	...	Ralph Fitch, 1585-86, in <i>Hakluyt's Travels</i> .

Goll ... Map in M.S. of Father Montserrat, S.J., 1598, in St.-Paul's Cathedral Library. (*Bengal: Past and Present*, April 1908, p. 184.)

Finally the spelling of the name settled down as Hooghly. This, transliterated, according to the Hunterian system, becomes Hughli. Hunter himself omits the second H as superfluous (which it is) and writes Hugli.

While there is much of historical interest in the district, most of the places of interest are not only well known, but easy of access, by rail, road, or river. Such places are :—Pandua, with the Minar, within a mile of the E.I.R.

Satgaon, on Grand Trunk Road, about mile 30-31.

Tribeni, on river ; sacred temple (a very poor building) and burning ghat, the tomb of Zafar Khan Ghazi, about a quarter of a mile south, and a mosque behind the tomb.

Bansbaria, palace, and temple of Hamsesvari.

Hughli, The Imambara.

Bandel, the oldest Church in Bengal.

Chinsura, Dutch and Armenian Churches, College, Dutch Governor's house, and other old houses, and Cemetery.

Chandarnagar, Church and Cemetery.

Ghireti, Cemetery, and ruins of French Governor's country house.

Serampur, Danish Church, College and Cemeteries, with their memories of the Serampur missionaries.

Tarakeswar, sacred place of pilgrimage on E.I.R.

Even in these places, however, much that would have been of great interest has gone for ever. The English never had any regular fort at Hughli ; it was not until they built Fort William that they had a real place of defence. But the Mogul Fort at Hughli, the Dutch Fort Gustavus at Chinsurah, and the French Fort Orleans at Chandarnagar, have vanished. The Mogul and Dutch forts were deliberately destroyed and their ruins utilised to make roads. All of these places enumerated above are well known, and many of them have been visited by the Society. It would serve no purpose to say more about them now. But it may be of interest to give some description of some other places, of less importance, no doubt, but less well known and less accessible.

The following notes contain descriptions of the Old Benares Road :—

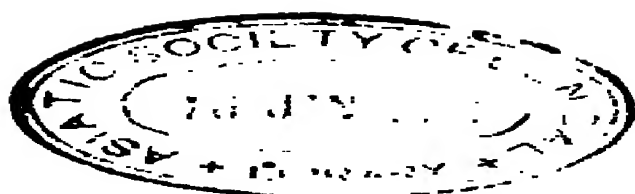
The Semaphore towers.

The Bhitargarh, or inner fort, in Goghat thana.

The Kishannagar temples near Khanakul.

The Narayanpur temple near Khanakul.

Ranjit Rai's tank.





The Old Benares Road, also known formerly as Aholya Bai's road, once the most important road in Bengal, and the only means of land communication between Calcutta and the Upper Provinces. This road starts from Howrah, enters the Hughli district at Devipara, and passes from Hughli into Bankura at Khatul, eleven miles north-west of Arambagh. Its length in Hughli district is 49 miles, 7 furlongs, 106 yards, or just 114 yards less than fifty miles. For the first sixteen miles the Howrah-Sheakhala Steam Tramway runs along the side of the road.

A good deal of historical information, taken from official records, may be found in Toynbee's "Sketch of the Administration of the Hooghly District from 1795 to 1845," a book which contains much interesting matter about the early history of the district. Toynbee states (pp. 111-112) that this road, as the most direct route to the Upper Provinces, was the first road whose maintenance was taken in hand by Government, towards the end of the eighteenth century. It was then called the New Military Road. In 1797 Lieutenant Ranken was in charge of the road, in 1816 Lieutenant W. D. Playfair, who remained in charge until May 1828, rising to the rank of Major in the interval. In May 1828 the road was made over to the Magistrate of Hughli. Sir Frederick Halliday, who held that post in 1830, reported to the Government that every year large sums of money were wasted in piling earthwork on this road, earth which was washed away regularly every year by the floods of the Damodar river during the rains.

He wrote "where well secured and strongly piled *bunds* cannot be resorted to, the best road is that which does *not* rise above the level of the surrounding country." He stopped all work upon the road, which was now of much less importance than formerly, as the Grand Trunk Road, begun in 1804, had by 1830 made considerable progress, and since 1829 the troops marching had begun to use it in preference to the Old Benares Road.

About the same time, however, Colonel Ouseley, Agent to the Governor-General for the South-West Frontier, called attention to the importance of the road as a means of communication with his agency, writing:—"The now opening trade with Chota Nagpore and the whole of the South-West Agency in indigo, oilseeds, skins, and other jungle productions is brought along this line." The road which led to the South-West Agency is sometimes called the "Old Nagpur Road;" it leaves the Old Benares Road on the west bank of the Dwarkeswar river, on the east bank of which stands the town of Arambagh, formerly Jahanabad, the headquarters of the subdivision, and passes out of Hughli district into Midnapur, at Titalmari, 17 miles west of Arambagh.

In 1837 the Old Benares Road is described as being a melancholy picture of the effects of neglect, but still crowded with foot passengers and pack

bullocks. Out of 58 bridges, some of which must have cost from twenty-five to thirty thousand rupees each, only 32 were still standing in 1837, and they were fast falling into ruin. The rest-houses were dropping to pieces and their furniture stolen. By 1840 the troops had finally abandoned the road, and the parts liable to flood had fallen to the condition of an ordinary fair-weather track. Toynbee writes : "It is truly lamentable to think of the immense sums of money that must have been wasted on this road before it was discovered that to make a raised road across the flood spill of a country sufficient waterway must be allowed. The same experience was bought at the same cost in many other parts of the country, notably on the Grand Trunk Road between Midnapur and Cuttack."

The following description of the road is taken from an official report by myself. The date was 20th December 1900, after the road had been more or less put in order after the floods of the rainy season, *i.e.*, after diversions had been made at the chief breaches, and steep slopes smoothed off at some of the numerous khals which the road crosses.

"Forded the Damudar, banks sloping on east, steep on west, about two feet of water under western bank. The 33rd milestone is on the east bank of the Damudar. First mile, 33-34, road bunded and fairly good. Second mile, 34-35, road still bunded, but four large breaches and ruins of two pakka bridges, one large and one small. From 35th to 40th mile road very sandy, almost all one large area of spill water. Third mile, 35-36, crossed two large sandy river beds, both dry now. The 37th milestone is a little east of the Muneswari river. In 38th mile crossed Muneswari river, 20 yards wide, girth deep, a small boat for foot passengers. On its west bank a village, Harinkola, surrounded by a bund. The next half mile almost all spill channel, crossed one small riverbed and four larger ones, a foot of water in one. About 39th mile a large spill channel with a few inches of water in it; a large broken pakka bridge here. In 39-40th mile two pakka bridges standing, but road broken away on each side. At 40th mile reached Mayapur village."

I have ridden along this road many a time since 1900; it still remains in much the same condition as then, and is likely to do, so. It has now been recognised that it is useless trying to keep up a good road crossing the spill channels of the Damudar at right angles. All that can be done is to patch up the worst places after the floods subside, and put up temporary bamboo bridges at one or two of the worst crossings; recognising that the work must be repeated yearly and that the road cannot be kept up through the rains. Such repairs were well carried out in the early cold weather of 1907-08, and in February 1908 the road was in better condition than I had ever seen it before. Strings of pack bullocks and long lines of foot passengers may still be seen, at the best a bullock cart gets along the road with difficulty.

On 28th April 1904 I saw the Damudar at the ford at Pursura on the Old Benares Road quite dry. Almost all the water of the Damudar now leaves the bed of that river through the Begua Mohana breach, on its western embankment, and passes down the Muneswari river. On 12th February 1908 the Damudar at Pursura was some few yards broad and not over a foot deep, while the Muneswari was in heavy flood, some seventy or eighty yards broad and ten to twelve feet deep. It had been in flood, I was told, for four days, and it had not fallen much when I recrossed it, on my return, on 16th February.

The Semaphore Towers.—In 1818 the Government of India started a Semaphore telegraph system, which was to be carried from Calcutta to Benares, like the series then in existence from Portsmouth to London. In 1821 Lieutenant Weston was at work, building the towers required for the purpose in Hughli district. He was succeeded in 1825 by Captain Playfair, probably the same officer who was in charge of the Old Benares Road, who appears to have finished the towers. The experiment was never carried to a conclusion, and was abandoned about 1830. Of course the introduction of electric telegraphy would have rendered the semaphore towers useless had the line ever been completed. How many of these towers were built I cannot say. There are still standing two in Howrah district, four in Hughli and seven in Bankura; the fourteenth, if it was ever built, would be in Manbhum. The first semaphore station would of course be Fort William. The first six towers are at regular intervals of about eight miles, and are exactly in a straight line, except that the first, Mohiari, is a little south of such a line. The first six towers stand at the following places:—

1. Mohiari, 8 miles north-west of Calcutta.
2. Borgachi, 8 miles north-west of Mohiari.
3. Dilakhas, 4 miles south-west of Kristonagar.
4. Haiathpur, 7 to 8 miles north of Khanakul, on east bank of Muneswari river, opposite its junction with the Dwarkeswar Kana Nadi.
5. Mubarakpur, 3 miles south of Arambagh, on east bank of Dwarkeswar.
6. Navasan, one mile north-west of Goghat, half a mile north of Nagpur road.

The seven towers which continue the line through Bankura are situated at the following places.—(1) Peno, (2) Pursotampur, (3) Tantipokhur in the Bishenpur jungle, (4) Ramsagar, (5) Chandrakona, (6) Bankura, (7) Chatra.

The towers are round, built with four storeys or tiers, and are about sixty feet in height. No vestige of a stair remains in any of those which I have seen, Haiathpur, Mubarakpur, and Navasan. The tower at Haiathpur is now on the very brink of the Muneswari river, which seems to have cut away the bank at this place during the last few years, and I should think it would probably fall before many other rainy seasons pass.

The Great Trigonometrical Survey was begun in Hughli district in 1830, suspended in June 1831, and started again in March 1832. Great opposition, both active and passive, was experienced from the people, and the work was not finished until 1845. There were eight survey stations in the district. The old semaphore towers of Dilakhas and Mubarakpur were utilised as two and the roof of the Hughli College as a third. For the other five, towers were built, about fifty feet high, at the following places : (1) Aknapur, three miles north-east of Tarakeswar, (2) Bhola, half-way between Nalikul and Singur on the Tarakeswar Branch Railway, and within a few yards of the railway on its north side, (3) Sathan, a mile south-east of Dwarbasini station ; Boga, five miles north of Naya Sarai, and (5) Niala, three miles north-east of Bainchi. This last tower fell in the earthquake of 1885.

The semaphore towers are round, the survey towers square. I cannot give any accurate measurements of either, but the former look much the larger of the two, both in height and diameter.

The *Bhitargarh*, or Inner Fort, is the name of an old ruined fortification, on the right or south-west bank of the Amudar or Amudwara river, a little to the east of the 14-15th mile of the Burdwan-Midnapur road. It is situated in Goghat thana, some three miles west and a little south of Goghat.

This is one of the most inaccessible corners of the province. Goghat is the most westerly thana of the Arambagh or Jahanabad subdivision of the Hughli district. The Bhitargarh is, by road, some ten miles west and a little south of Arambagh village ; by a short cut the distance can be reduced to about eight miles. Arambagh itself is sixteen miles in a direct line from Tarakeswar, the nearest railway station; and 24 miles from Haripal, on the Tarakeswar branch of the E.I.R., the nearest railway station with which it is connected by road. It is about thirty miles from the Burdwan railway station, the road being good all the way, except for some two miles at the Damudar crossing, about three miles south of Burdwan. The Burdwan-Midnapur road is the same as that from Burdwan to Arambagh, as far as Uchalan, sixteen miles from Burdwan, where it branches off to the south-west.

The miles on this road are measured from Uchalan ; and, as the Bhitargarh is on the 14-15th mile, it is fully thirty miles from Burdwan. From Midnapur it would be some forty miles distant. All these roads, except that from Burdwan to Arambagh, are "kacha," or unmetalled, though in better condition last season than I have ever seen them before. It will be seen, however, that access to the Bhitargarh is not exactly easy.

The ruined fort may be described as follows. An earthen ramp, some ten to fifteen feet high, encloses a space of about five hundred yards square, roughly quadrangular, with the corners rounded off. The river Amudwara enters this space at the northern corner of the ramp and flows across it, passing

out at a gap in the eastern side, near its south end. The south-eastern corner of the quadrangle shows a distinct bulge outwards to the south-east the reason for which is not apparent.

On the right or south-west bank of the river stand the ruins of the "inner fort" or Bhitargarh. These ruins consist of a mound some two hundred yards square and I should think thirty to forty feet high in the centre. More or less all round this mound, but specially on the northern (river) and southern faces, may be seen traces of a wall, built of laterite blocks below, brick above. The sides of the mound are overgrown with jungle, both tree and scrub; so thick, that it is difficult to get through. The top is more open, though it also is covered with trees. The whole mound apparently consists of broken brick, more or less, but no trace of any definite building, even in ruins, is visible, except a Musalman tomb on the highest point.

This tomb consists of three terraces, 16 paces long from north to south, twelve from east to west, and each about two feet high. They are built of old stones, and apparently have been patched up from time to time. On the highest terrace is the tomb itself, some six feet long and three feet high. A yard from its northern end is a small brick pillar, with a niche in it for a lamp. There were many clay horses round the tomb, mostly very small coarse clay images, but one quite artistic and much larger.

The space between the northern ramp and river is high grass land. The rest of the enclosure is mostly cultivated as rice fields, except its southern end, which is a swamp.

Just outside the southern ramp lies a long narrow tank, which probably was once a moat.

From the southern end of the outer ramp projects a second fortification, about 300 yards long from south to north and 500 broad, with a high mound at its south-west angle; this mound consists mostly of masses of roughly cut laterite, and must have been a strong bastion.

I am not aware of any history of this fort. It is said to have been one of the forts used as defences against the incursions of the Mahrattas, but probably it existed long before the seventeenth century. The tomb on the top is comparatively modern, and must have been built after the fort itself had fallen into ruins.

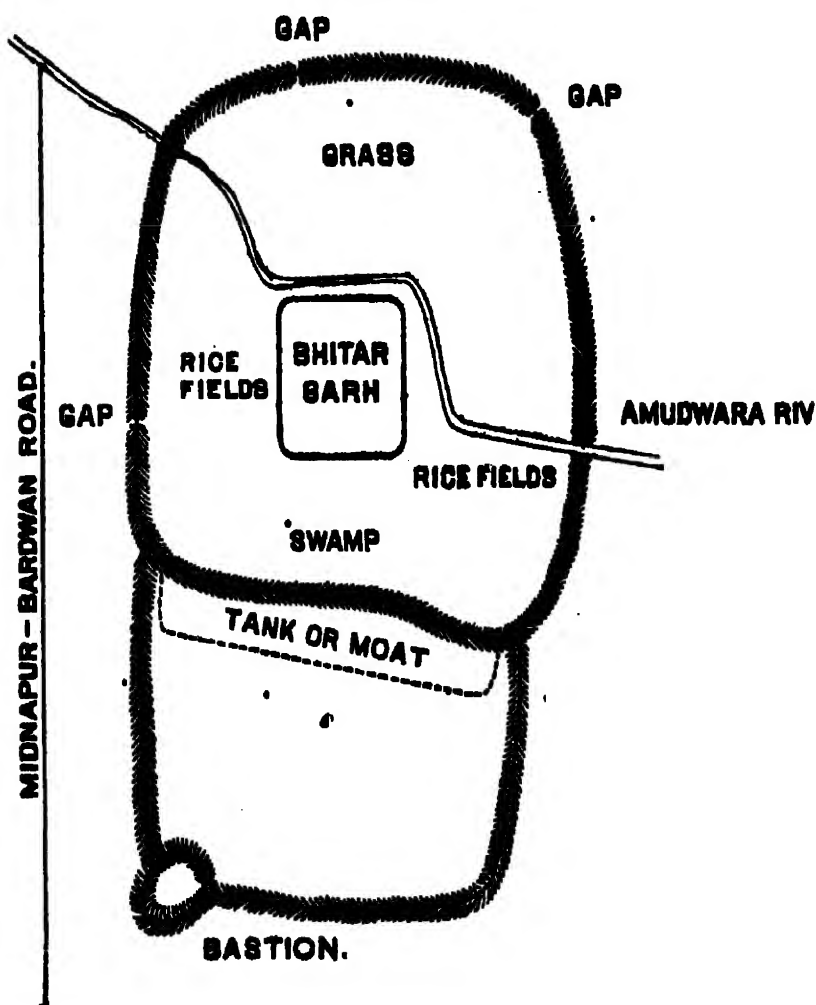
The situation is well chosen for defence against an enemy armed only with bows and arrows or even early firearms. Even if the outer ramp were taken, the garrison of the inner fort were sure of a water-supply from a river which does not run dry during the hot weather, washing the northern walls of the fort.

The ramp of the outer fort is now only some ten to fifteen feet high, and presents an easy slope on both inner and outer sides. Cavalry could

ride over it; indeed, it would *now* hardly check them in a gallop. But this is after the rains of a century at least, probably much longer, have acted on it. In the days when the ruin was a fortress it was probably much higher and steeper.

RUINS OF GARH-MANDARAN.

NORTH



This fort is the scene of the story "Durgesa Nandini," by the celebrated Bengali novelist, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, who was Subdivisional Officer of Jahanabad about twenty years ago.

A little north of the northern ramp lie the ruins of Garh Mandaran. These consist of large mounds, fifteen to twenty feet high, covering a space of about half a mile square. A poor modern village covers part of this area. On one of the mounds, towards the south, stands a mosque, of no particular antiquity or interest.

Krishannagar (really Krishnanagar) is a fair sized village on the west bank of the Muneswari River, where the Mayapur-Khanakul road meets the river, about two miles north of Khanakul. There is a very fine group of temples here, at the south end of the village, on the river bank; one large temple with about a dozen smaller ones. They are dedicated to Krishna, under the name of Gopinath (Lord of Cowherdesses). At Khanakul itself there is a fair sized temple of Shiva, under the name of Ghanteswar, on the bank of the Muneswari. This temple appears to be in some danger of being undermined by the river.

Nurayanpur is a very small village on the north bank of the Dwarkeswar Kana Nadi and east bank of the Muneswari, just above their junction, opposite the Haiathpur Tower. I had never seen or indeed heard of this village until I visited it, inspecting vaccination, on 12th February 1908. In a thicket of jungle, on the bank of the Muneswari, at the north-east corner of the village, stands rather a fine old temple. Over the doorway, which faces south, are moulded bricks, with figures of men and animals in very good preservation. They appeared to me to be better than those in the old temple at Bansbaria; on the other hand, they are probably not nearly so old. All that I could ascertain locally about this temple was that it had been built and dedicated to Saligram, a very long time ago, by a man who had no heirs. What is meant by Saligram I do not know. A native subordinate official who was with me told me that Saligram was an incarnation of Vishnu, but this is certainly not correct. The Shalgrama is a black ammonite, regarded as sacred by the worshippers of Vishnu. But the Shalgrama does not seem to be a likely object of dedication of a temple. In spite of the absence of information about the origin and history of this temple, I should think though it is now falling into ruins, that it is probably not very old, perhaps not more than a century or so.

Ranjit Rai's Tank is a very fine tank which lies about three miles south-east of Arambagh, on the 1-2 mile of the Arambagh-Arandi Road, on the south-west of the road. The tank is about 250 yards square, its banks stand some twelve feet above the road.

The following legend in connection with this tank, was related to me some years ago, by Assistant Surgeon Syam Birod Das Gupta, then of

Arambagh. Ranjit Rai was a wealthy *Zemindar*, called by courtesy Raja, who lived in the village of Garhbhari, north of the Old Benares Road, about a mile east of Arambagh. He was a devoted worshipper of the goddess Durga, who on one occasion played the part of his daughter to show her appreciation of his devotion. On the morning of the day of the *Baruni* festival (the thirteenth day of the moon in April), a *Shankhari* or seller of conch shell ornaments, while passing the tank now known as Ranjit Rai's Tank, went down to the tank to get a drink of water. At the *ghat* he saw a beautiful maiden bathing, who enquired who he was. On hearing that he was a *Shankhari*, she asked whether he had a pair of *Shankhas*, or shell bracelets, which would suit her. He said that he had such a pair, but that they were expensive, their price being five rupees. The girl came out of the tank and asked him to put the bracelets on her wrists. She was pleased with them, and said that she would keep them, adding that she had no money with her, but that if he would go to her father, Ranjit Rai, he would pay for them. She further told the *Shankhari* to tell her father that he would find, in the room facing south, a small box of hers with five rupees in it; and added that, if her father made any demur to paying, if the man came back to the *ghat*, she would pay him herself. The *Shankhari* went to Ranjit Rai's house, told his story, and asked for five rupees. Ranjit Rai, as it happened, had no daughter, and at first thought of simply dismissing the man as an impostor; on second thoughts he went to look at the niche described and there found a box with five rupees in it. He then saw that some supernatural agency had placed the box and money there, and went with the *Shankhari* to the *ghat* where the girl had been seen bathing. She was there no longer, so the *Shankhari* called out "O beautiful maiden, who took the pair of *Shankhas* from me this morning, where are you?" In answer, a pair of hands, with the bracelets on their wrists, were raised from the water in the centre of the tank. The Raja threw himself down and prayed to Durga and in the evening celebrated a great *puja* at the tank. The *Baruni*, or bathing festival, is celebrated at this tank to the present time, and attracts crowds from the neighbouring villages.

D. G. CRAWFORD,
Lieut.-Col., I.M.S.



Some Notes on Monghyr.



IN the number of *Bengal: Past and Present* for January 1908 Monghyr is suggested (p. 102) as an objective for a future excursion. The Society would find a visit to Monghyr one of great interest. The Fort and Town of Monghyr as well as the immediate neighbourhood have many historical associations. The situation of the Fort, a rocky point jutting out into a great river, is one which must have been occupied from the very earliest period, long before historical times. The value of such a site for defence, for aggression, or for levying tolls or plunder on the riverborne traffic passing along the Ganges, must have impressed itself on the first inhabitants who rose above the condition of primitive savages.

Twice Monghyr comes into history with some prominence, once under the Moguls, and once in the early days of the rise of the British power. Shah Shuja, second son of Shah Jahan, Viceroy of Bengal, held his court for the most part at Rajmahal, but occupied Monghyr for some time after he had thrown for his father's empire and lost. This was about 1657. Again, Mir Kasim, who was substituted for his father-in-law, Mir Jafir, as Nawab of Bengal, in 1761, made Monghyr his capital in 1762-63, as being more removed from English influence than Murshidabad, the former seat of Government. For many years Monghyr was an invalid garrison of the Company's Army (one of these invalids was still alive when I was at Monghyr), and was also owing to its healthy climate and the cheapness of living, a favourite place of residence for pensioners. The scourge of plague and the general increase in cost of living has, however, made a great difference in the last ten years.

The best work on this part of the country with which I am acquainted is Buchanan-Hamilton's *History, Antiquities, Topography and Statistics of Eastern India*, a large work in three volumes, published in 1838. The title page gives Montgomery Martin as the name of the author. Martin, however, contributed only an introduction and some notes. The work is really a survey of this part of India, carried out, about a century ago, by Dr. Buchanan-Hamilton. Monghyr and Bhagalpur are described in the second volume. Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XV., "Monghyr and Purniab," gives little but statistics, and hardly touches on history and archæology. Another book on the district is *Natural History, Sport, and Travel*, by Edward Lockwood, a former Magistrate of Monghyr. (Published by W. H. Allen & Co. in 1878.)

It would be a good thing if some one could be found who would write up the antiquities of Monghyr for *Bengal : Past and Present*. I spent four years there myself—1894 to 1898—and knew the district well. But it is now ten years since I left, and recollections require verifying as much as references. I will, however, give a few notes on some of the objects of historical and antiquarian interest in Monghyr Fort, Town, and District.

I. The Fort, an irregular five-sided figure, more than a mile in circumference, the western and northern sides being washed by the Ganges. The Fort walls, except near the river, are rather ramparts than walls, nowadays footpaths lead over them at many places. Inside the Fort the chief objects of interest are—

(1) *Scandal Point*, a rocky point jutting out into the Ganges, where the two river sides of the Fort meet. Underneath the Point is a small Hindu temple and several subterranean rooms leading off a sallyport which passes under the road.

(2) *Karamchaura*, a very fine large house, said to have been built by or for the Marquis of Hastings, on a high bastion at the eastern corner of the Fort.

(3) *The tomb of Pir Nafû*, close to the western gate of the Fort.

(4) *The tomb of the Poet Ashraf*, on the bastion at the western end of the river side of the Fort.

(5) *The Jail*, containing several old buildings, formerly part of the palace of Mir Kasim, while Monghyr was temporarily the native capital of Bengal, in 1762 to 1763. The chief of these are—

(a) *The Jail Hospital*, said to have been the palace zenana.

(b) *A very large well*, both broad and deep. It would be interesting to clear out this well, and probably many unexpected objects would be found in doing so, but nothing short of a steam pump would do it.

(c) *The Magazine*, with walls 15 feet thick, now used as a convict barrack.

(d) *A Small Mosque*, now used as godowns. In the floor of this mosque, underneath the centre dome, is a dry well or pit, some ten or twelve feet deep. From this well four subterranean passages lead off in different directions. These passages had all been bricked up, a few yards from their entrances, many years before I went to Monghyr. There was a tradition that some prisoners had made their escape (from the jail, it is not likely that they ever got out at the other end), along one of these passages, years before. I believe that one of these passages went down to the river bank,

which is just outside; a second to a large well in the garden; a third to the subterranean rooms at the Point. Where the fourth may go I am not prepared to hazard any suggestion; tradition says to Pirpahar, but three miles is rather a tall order for a practicable underground passage.

- (e) *Another large well*, but smaller than the first, in the jail garden, near the river bank. On the side next the jail, some distance below ground level is an archway, which may once have communicated with one of the underground passages.

It would of course be necessary to get the permission of the Superintendent to see the jail, but there would probably be no difficulty about that. When I was there, the jail used to be the chief sight of the station, and all visitors to Monghyr, European or native, used to come to see it.

A moat runs all round the Fort and is crossed by three bridges. Most of the year the moat is dry, but the Ganges runs round it when in high flood in the rains.

In the immediate vicinity of Monghyr town there are several places worth seeing—

(1) Three Hindu temples on a *kacha* road leading westwards out of the town, with large carved figures.

(2) *Dukhra Nala*, on the Patna road about three miles west of the Fort. There are here the remains of an old masonry bridge said to have been destroyed by Mir Kasim when he fled from Monghyr in 1763. The bridge is attributed to Shah Shuja.

(3) *Pirpahar*, the Saint's hill, a very fine house standing on an isolated hill, some three miles east of the Fort. Under the hill is a small European cemetery, also a Musalman burial ground. I remember that the largest grave in the former had on it above the epitaph, the words "Hush, she sleeps."

(4) *The old Cemetery*, just outside the Fort walls, between the Fort and the railway station. The modern cemetery is on the road to Sitakund.

(5) *Sitakund*, the famous hot spring, about five miles east of the Fort. There is no temple, but several small *pakka* tanks, one of which contains the hot spring, the water of the others is cold. The legend of the spring is given in Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XV. "Monghyr and Purniah," p. 75.

(6) There are three small rocky islands in the bed of the Ganges at Monghyr, called the Beacon rocks, about two miles west of the point. They are covered in the rains, but show at other seasons of the year. Near

Sultanganj station, in Bhagalpur, a few miles east of the eastern boundary of the district, is a much larger island with a temple on it.*

The above are all the places of interest which I can remember in the station itself and its immediate vicinity. But if one goes further afield, there are many more places worth visiting all over the southern half of the district. It is only a district officer, however, who has constantly to be travelling on duty about his charge, who can possibly find the time and opportunity for such visits.

The *Monghyr hills*, or Kharakpur hills, or Jamalpur hills, form a roughly triangular block, south of the Loop Line, east of the Chord Line of the East Indian Railway. Each side of the triangle is about thirty miles long. The highest point is Marok hill, a flat topped hill some ten miles south of Dharhara station, 1,526 feet high. I have crossed the hills in different directions, several times, once going over Morok. There are a number of hot springs in different places in these hills.

Kharakpur was formerly the seat of a Raja of a Rajput family converted to Islam. It is a small town, or large village, on the Man river, some twenty miles from Monghyr, eleven miles from Bariarpur railway station. There are a thana, dispensary, and a good resthouse. The tombs of the family of the Rajahs, which is now I believe extinct, may be seen, some distance to the east of the road, on the eleventh mile. About a mile and a half west of the village is a house belonging to the Maharaja of Darbhanga, who has an estate here. Half a mile further west is a lake, formed for irrigation, by damming up the Man and Sugi rivers; the latter falls into the former a mile or two above the dam. There is a waterfall, called the Panjkumari fall, or fall of the five maidens, on the Sugi river, a little above its junction with the Man. Going a mile or two up the Man, in the hills, a quarter of a mile from its west bank, is another very hot spring, which, as far as I know, has no name.

Rishikund, the devotees' tank, is a collection of hot springs at the north-east corner of the Kharakpur hills, about eleven miles from Monghyr, by a *kacha* Road. It is about two miles west of the third mile of the Kharakpur-Bariarpur road. There are said to be twenty-two hot springs here. I could not make out the exact number, but certainly there are a good many.

Bhimbandh, or Bhim's dam, is on the eastern face of the hills, near their southern angle. It is some twelve miles from Kharakpur, and is reached by a very *kacha* jungle track which leaves the Kharakpur-Jamui road near Gangta, seven miles south of Kharakpur. There are a number of very hot springs here, which partly form the source of the Man river.

* There is a photo of this temple opposite page 262 of the April number of *Bengal : Past and Present*.

Janamkund, or the Birth tank, is another hot spring on the northern face of the hills, five or six miles south of Kajra station.

The temple of Singhi Rikh is a small temple on the south side of a long valley running up into the hills from their western face. If I remember rightly there was another hot spring there too. The building is a very small one, of no architectural merit. It is five or six miles south of Kajra station on the Loop line, and about the same distance east of Mananpur on the Chord line.

Deograha, or Deoghara, is a small hill about ten miles south of Kharakpur, on the south-west side of the Gangta-Sagrampur road, close to the road. The hill appears to consist, not of an outcrop of rock, but of enormous stones, like the pebbles of the seabeach greatly magnified, piled one on top of another. The topmost stone of all is some forty feet cube, on its summit is perched a little Hindu temple. At its base, on the south side, is another small shrine, access to which is easy enough by a path. But nothing without wings could now reach the temple on the summit. Buchanan-Hamilton, a hundred years ago, mentions that when he saw the place there were ladders to the top, but they were in very bad repair. A Musalman lascar who was with him went up the ladders to the temple above, but none of the Hindus in his following dared to do so, though they were anxious to visit the temple (*Eastern India*, Vol. II, p. 56).

Shah Shuja's Bund is an earthwork some ten or twelve feet high, and as many broad, which runs from the Monghyr hills to the Ganges, crossing the Loop line of the E.I.R. about four miles west of Kajra station, and crossing the Monghyr-Patna road in its 24-25 mile. This *bund* is supposed to have been constructed by Shah Shuja, second son of Shah Jahan, and Viceroy of Bengal, after he had failed in his bid for his father's throne. At the same time he repaired the fort of Monghyr, but though he thus made preparation for defence, he never defended either, but fled eastwards and was finally lost in the jungles of the Arakan Hills. A few miles west of Barisal, on the north bank of the river between that town and Nalchiti, may still be seen the remains of a mud fort, Shuabad, which he constructed and occupied for some time during his flight. The *bund* has stood time well, being now some two and a half centuries old.

Uraon or *Urain* is a village on the south side of the Loop line, some two miles west of Kajra station and a little east of Shah Shuja's *bund*, which is said by some to have been the birthplace of Buddha.

The Sheikhpura hills are a range of low hills, running some six miles from north-east to south-west. At their greatest elevation they are only a few hundred feet above the plains. Near their north end they sink down to a height of some forty or fifty feet, rising higher again further north.

At their lowest part a cutting has been made through the hills from one side to the other. Evidently this cutting was started simultaneously from each side, for the two ends did not exactly meet in the middle and are connected there by a short crosscut.

This cutting is plainly visible from the road on the east of the hills, some half a mile off, and probably may be equally well seen from the railway a little further east. Sheikhpura is now a station on the South Behar line. Twelve years ago it could only be reached by a fifteen-mile ride from Lakhisarai. A mile or two west of Sheikhpura is a very large tank, large enough to be shown on the ordnance survey map of the district.

Fort Hastings is the name of an old ruined fort, once a British frontier fort, at Chakai, the most southernly thana in the district. Chakai is some 18 or 20 miles south-west of Simultala station, and about the same distance south of Jhajha (formerly Nawadih) station on the Chord line of the E.I.R. The earthworks of the fort are still plainly visible at the north-west of Chakai village. Not far off is an old European tomb, the name plate of which has long disappeared. Four miles north of Chakai is Bamdeh, one of the seats of the United Free Kirk Mission to the Sonthals.

In that half of Monghyr district which lies north of the Ganges there is nothing of any special historical interest. Some twelve miles north of Begu Sarai and a little north of Mahjhaul Indigo Factory is the Kabar Tal, a very large lake or mere much overgrown with reeds and water weeds. In it is an island inhabited by hanumans, from which it takes its name of Monkey Island. On the east side of the lake are two small hills, or large mounds of earth, about which there is a legend that they were two shovelfuls of earth deposited there by Bhim.

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A Memoir of Colonel Thomas Deane Pearse of the Bengal Artillery. No. I.



COLONEL THOMAS PEARSE claimed his descent from a very respectable family ; his father resided at Reading, in Berkshire, and enjoyed a handsome independence, which, after the the birth of his son, was, by misfortune, irrevocably lost. The dawning prospects of young Pearse, the subject of the present *Memoir*, were thus early blighted, and the Army was chosen as the only resource left to provide for him in a manner suitable to his birth. These circumstances he mentions feelingly in a letter to an old school-fellow, Mr. Skinner, dated from Allahabad, 29th March, 1776 :—

" Since you and I were happy together in our boyish days, I have experienced some changes : my father was ruined by the breaking of a Mr. Bellamy and a long and expensive lawsuit in 1757. They took me from school to carry me to the parade at Woolwich."

Young Pearse was in his fifteenth year when admitted as a cadet into the Royal Academy at Woolwich ; and he went through his course of study in a manner peculiarly honourable to himself, in every instance exhibiting that firmness of mind and decision of character which distinguished him through life. On the 8th June, in the year 1757, young Pearse obtained a Lieutenant Fireworker's commission in the Royal Artillery, and was present on service with detachments of his corps, both on the Continent and in the West Indies, on many memorable occasions as detailed in following extract of a letter to Lionel D'arell, Esq. :—

" I served through all the war before the last, beginning with St. Malos, Cherburgh and St. Coss in 1758 ; Martinico and Guadaloupe in '59 ; Belisle in '61 ; and Havannah in '62 ; and though I was not at the head, I was in the heat of every attack."

Lieutenant Pearse, from his marked merit and abilities, found several warm friends amongst the celebrated and distinguished officers at the head of his corps, particularly General Desaguliers and General Pattison, with whom he kept up a constant correspondence.

The history of Colonel Pearse's coming to India is given in the following

letter to Brigadier-General Sir Robert Barker, Commander-in-Chief in India, dated the 13th February, 1773 :—

“In the year 1768, the Court of Directors, having determined to augment their troops on the Bengal Establishment, were anxious of having officers from the King's Artillery to promote into their service ; and also cadets to be appointed Lieutenant Fireworkers.”

“Application was accordingly made through Mr. Scrafton to Lieutenant-Colonel James Pattison, Lieutenant Governor-General of the Royal Military Academy of Woolwich, not only for cadets, but even to recommend officers ; in consequence of which I had the honour of being nominated to be Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant of Artillery. I remained in expectation of my appointment for some weeks, and should have come to India with that rank, had not the Honourable Court of Directors thought proper to bestow it on Captain Martin, in lieu of the post of Chief Engineer in Bengal, which that officer did then enjoy.* I was, therefore, appointed Major of Artillery, and given to understand by the Chairman, that on the resignation of Lieutenant-Colonel Martin, or his death, or removal I was to be appointed to the command in his stead.”

The following commission was given to Colonel Pearse on his sailing for India :—

“The United Company of Merchants of England, trading to the East Indies, to Thomas Deane Pearse, Esq. Greeting.

“We the said United Company, reposing a special trust and confidence in you, constitute and appoint you to be Major of Artillery in our service, at our Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, in the East Indies, and do give and grant you full power and authority to take your rank and post as Major of Artillery accordingly, from the day of your arrival at our said Presidency. You are, therefore, to take upon you the said charge and command of Major of Artillery, and faithfully, diligently and carefully to discharge the duty thereof, by executing all and all manner of things thereunto belonging ; and, we do, etc., etc.”

This Commission was signed on the 29th day of February, 1768, under the common seal of the East India Company and countersigned by P. Mickel, Secretary. Major Pearse sailed from England in March 1768, and arrived at

* At that time a Captain Campbell, an officer of the Royal Engineers, applied to come out as Chief Engineer to Bengal, and, having superior interest to Captain Martin, he obtained the appointment, and the Directors recompensed Captain Martin for his removal by appointing him Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant of Artillery.

Calcutta on the 26th of August of the same year. On his arrival, he found that the Board had appointed a Captain Nathaniel Kindersley Major in the Artillery; and, by back-dating the latter's commission, so as to make it senior to Major Pearse's, the command of the Artillery devolved upon Major Kindersley, as Lieutenant-Colonel Martin resigned on the 8th November following.

This disappointment, and what he conceived breach of promise on the part of the Directors, Major Pearse at first very severely felt; but he reconciled himself with the hope that, on a fair representation of the case, justice would be done towards him. The supersession was peculiarly unjust to Major Pearse; for Captain Kindersley (as it appears by a memorial to the Honourable Court of Directors) was a junior officer in His Majesty's Service; and, as Major Pearse was aware that Captain Kindersley had sailed for India, he refused to proceed without the seniority of his rank to Captain Kindersley being acknowledged at the India House, and obtained the promise that he should not be superseded by him in India. The following answer from the Secretary to the Council was received by Colonel Pearse to an appeal made by him to the Honourable Harry Verelst, Esq., President and Governor, etc., of the Council of Fort William, dated Allahabad, 27th December, 1768.

To Major Thomas Deane Pearse.

"SIR,—I have it in command from the Honourable the President and Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter to them of the 28th day of December, soliciting the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel of Artillery, and to acquaint you in answer, that they are sensible of the hardness of your case, and the just plea you had for your remonstrance; but as they had appointed Major Kindersley to the rank he now holds, previous to your arrival, and before they were acquainted with your views and expectations, they cannot but think it would be a piece of injustice to that gentleman, and an impropriety in their own conduct, to set aside their own commission they have granted him, and give the rank to you. A representation to the Court of Directors of your situation has been made. The application you have made to the Honourable President and Council to be appointed to the Infantry, it is beyond their power to grant you, which I am directed to inform you of.

"I am,

"FORT WILLIAM,

23rd February 1768.

"SIR,

"Your most obedient servant,

"EDWARD BARBER,
Secretary."

Both Mr. Verelst and Mr. Cartier wrote in a private way to Major Pearse to soften his disappointment. Mr. Cartier's letter was as follows :—

To Major Pearse.

SIR,—I have received your favour of the 19th March. Though the short acquaintance I had the opportunity of cultivating gave me the most favourable impression of your merit, I will not presume to rest my judgment on what a few accidental hours afforded me. I must have recourse, Sir, to your general character in life ; from that I am informed that you are not only eminent in the particular duties of your profession, but valuable in the different calls of private friendship. In these different views consider yourself to be thought by every gentleman forming the present administration : I am certain that it is so, and you may rely on my assurances.

“ In your late application to the Board, no one was there, I am certain, but considered it and the state of facts with the utmost candour—no one but thought that you had reason to complain in having the hopes you had been led to entertain so greatly disappointed. It was in general thought by the Honourable President and Council that it would be doing an injustice to Major Kindersley if they were to grant you the rank above him, who, though a younger officer in His Majesty's service, had served the Company with steadiness and merit some years before you came to this country. This, Sir, gave the gentleman a superior title in our late promotions, being confident the Company never intended to be guilty of intentional injury to individuals, either in the Civil or Military Departments ; and when accidentally they do commit it, a right we conceive they have with their Government here to redress it. However, the affair is very impartially transmitted home, and whatever resolution the Court of Directors may convey to us on this head, I hope will be submitted to with pleasure by the interested parties. We considered this contest with all possible partiality and be assured no personal predilection inclined us to either side.

“ I am with esteem,

“ SIR,

“ Your most obedient servant,

JOHN CARTIER.”

“ CALCUTTA,
31st March, 1769.

Several representations and very able memorials passed on the above occasions ; but the grievance was soon removed by Major Kindersley's death, which event took place on the 24th October, 1769, and Major Pearse was then promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and placed in command of the Bengal Artillery.

This distinguished officer held the command of the Bengal Artillery for 21 years ; he was an intimate friend of Mr. Hastings, and was honoured with the confidence of Lord Cornwallis ; and as his service in India took place during the Government of these illustrious statesmen, the numerous extracts from his original letters now published, will be found to possess extreme interest and entertainment ; forming in themselves a concise history of the times, and throwing new light upon many important scenes connected with the British Government of India.

Colonel Pearse may be considered as the first professionally educated Artillery Officer who entered the Honorable Company's Service ; and we may well say, without detracting from the merits of his successors, that few, if any, have been his equals in professional science, and in that laudable and never to be too highly prized ardour, with which he devoted himself to the important duties of his command.

The state of the corps and its equipment, when Colonel Pearse came into the command, may be judged of from the following extracts from letters to General Desaguliers and Mr. Müller, 1775 :—

"When I first came into the command of the corps, I was astonished at the ignorance of all who composed it. It was a common practice to make any midshipman, who was discontented with the India ships, an officer of Artillery, from a strange idea, that a knowledge of navigation would perfect an officer of that corps in the knowledge of Artillery. They were almost all of this class ; and their ideas consonant with the elegant Military education which they had received. But, thank God, I have got rid of all of them but seven. I have compelled all officers to perform laboratory work at the annual practice."

And to General Desaguliers, in 1772, he writes :—

"When I was at practice in 1770, the fuzes burnt from 19 to 48 seconds, though of the same nature. The portfires were continually going out. The tubes would not burn. The powder was infamous. The cartridges were made conical, and, if it was necessary to prime with loose powder, a great quantity was required to fill the vacant cavity round the cartridge. The carriages flew into pieces with common firing in a week.

"All this I represented, but my representation was quashed, the contractor still makes the carriages, the laboratory is still in the same hands, and I have no more to do with it than his Holiness at Rome.

"Now I have got all the laboratory implements with me at practice, and I am going to teach the officers what they never saw."

Innumerable quotations from Colonel Pearse's letters might be given as arguments of the constant attention which he gave to the duties of his profession, and of the exertions which he made to advance the character and improve the abilities of the corps; suffice it to say, that during the whole period of his service these exertions were unremitting, and the success of them will be borne witness to in the succeeding pages of this memoir. As several interesting and entertaining letters appear amongst Colonel Pearse's MSS., dated in the beginning of 1769, we shall retrograde a little in order to indulge the reader's curiosity.

Colonel Pearse, soon after his arrival, was ordered up to Allahabad, which, with Chunar, had been taken from the Mahrattas, by the Army under Major Stibbert in 1765; here he remained until July 1769.

At this period of Colonel Pearse's service, the Madras Army was in the field under a very able officer, a Colonel Smith, against the combined armies of Hyder Alli and the Nizam. In December 1768, an action was fought in which the English Commander defeated the enemy. The Nizam, after this defeat, separated his troops from Hyder Alli, and concluded a peace, and a defensive alliance with the English. The Madras Government, presuming upon the late success, and the defection of the Nizam, and under an idea of bringing the operations of the Army immediately under their control, the Council took the ill-judged determination of sending two of their members under the title of *Field Deputies* to join the Army, and Colonel Smith was directed not to undertake any operation without their concurrence; in fact, they were to direct all operations. Disgust in the mind of the successful soldier was the natural consequence of such a proceeding; the operations of the Army were without energy or effect; and disaffection on the part of the Army, and dissatisfaction on the part of the Government followed. Colonel Smith either resigned his command from disgust, or was recalled by the Madras Council; and the consequences were that the Army met with a series of disasters after his departure. A letter from Colonel Pearse, at this time, to an old Woolwich friend, throws some light upon the circumstances and the state of affairs in Bengal.

Allahabad, February 23rd, 1769.

"Our affairs in the court seem to be in a disagreeable situation. Hyder Alli understands the art of war rather too well for them. Whilst Smith was with the Army, he drove the enemy before him; but he was plagued with Field Deputies, and had received positive orders to march into the enemy's country, which abounds in woods and morasses. He foresaw the difficulties of the enterprise, and rather than risk everything, he resigned his commission and went to Madras, where the Field Deputies soon followed, to answer for

their conduct. The command was given to Colonel Wood, who, obeying the orders of the Deputies, marched into the country. The enemy drove off all the cattle and provisions, and retreated everywhere before him; he pursued, when famine began to make it necessary to think of returning: this was what Hyder wanted; he now pursued in his turn, continually beating and harassing the detachments of the Army, till at length he took away all their ammunition and, I believe, Artillery, though it is not asserted, as everything is kept as secret as possible. The command was then given to Lang, whose rank I do not know. A detachment in a wood, being attacked were defeated; 140 Europeans, 6 pieces of cannon, and 1,500 sepoys were taken prisoners. The Governor and Council, seeing that affairs began to assume a very unpleasant appearance, desired Colonel Smith to return to the command. He at first refused, nor would he go till he was sent without Field Deputies, and with full powers. Hyder Alli has also taken a Fort W——, with 250 Europeans, 10 pieces of cannon, ammunition, etc., for 6 months, and 1,500 sepoys. It was done in the following manner: Hyder summoned Captain Norton, commanding the Fort to surrender, and on the back of the summons he sent an invitation to the Captain to come and visit him at his tent. Captain Norton being a very polite man, went, was seized, and, with a drawn sword over his head, was desired to write to the next officer in the post to surrender, which he was dastard enough to do; and the other, like a fool, obeyed. The Roman centurions would have set a better example. Assistance has been asked from Bengal, in men, ammunitions, and money; and it is said the remainder of the first Brigade will go.

"The situation of our affairs here does not seem to be much better, although at peace. The French had shipped off a great deal of money; an order was issued forbidding that any should be sent off from the country. The Nabob of Bangal, or Patna, I do not know which, though I believe the former, ordered his peons to surround Chandernagore till it should be re-landed. The French fired on them from the ship, by which many were killed and wounded; the consequence was the destruction of the town. The Nabob's people pulled down the houses and laid everything in ruins. Monsieur Chevalier wrote to the Governor of Fort William, desiring that the neutrality which subsisted between the two nations might continue (for he was determined to march against the Nabob), and that the ship might not be molested. He was answered, that if

she attempted to pass, she would be fired on by the guns of the Fort. The Nabob having demanded our assistance, the ship was afterwards seized, but I hear since that she is gone. The Nabob has ordered all the French down; trade is entirely stopped, which may perhaps end in trouble. The King left us lately; he took with him all his people, and said that he was going to Phaizabad on a visit; but the true reason of his departure must be discovered in time.

"Money is so scarce that we have none to lend to Madras. Our sepoys have only just got their pay for December: in short, they begin to desert. If troops go to the coast, I am resolved to go with them, if I can, that I may assist at the siege of Madras (which is expected), or be present at its relief."

The summary of news and events long since passed by, as given in the following extract from a letter to Lieutenant Mayaffre, an old Woolwich friend, then in the corps, is entertaining:—

"The news just received is, that the King of Prussia and the Russians have joined to attack the Grand Seigneur, who has marched to Adrianople with 60,000 men. Princess Louisa Ann, George's sister, is dead; the Queen of France is the same. Wilks is sentenced to pay £500 fine for re-publishing No. 45, and to suffer 10 months' imprisonment. He is fined £1,000 and is sentenced to 12 months' imprisonment for publishing an *Essay on Woman*; he has appealed to Parliament for redress. Lord Bute is dying. Wilks gives £2,000 security for good behaviour for 7 years. No. 45 is considered as the standard of rebellion, and the printers, sellers, etc., to be tried next sessions. Wilks, the East India Company, and a famine seem to be equally talked of and dreaded in England. Rigby is appointed Paymaster-General, and Lord somebody has got his appointment in Ireland. The King of Denmark was expected in England. Lord Boston was to conduct him. Corsica is ceded to France; and the King of France adds "King of Corsica" to his other titles. There is an elegant bridge thrown across the Ganges for the King, who is returned from his visit to Phaizabad."

If the manners of the times are not altogether improved, the following piece of satire may be useful. Colonel Pearse concludes his letter thus:—

"D—has been interrupting me by talking nonsense, such as the boobies who now come out employ their time in. 'Live and be merry' is their theme: on which they write, talk, and follow it as closely as they can. To be a gentleman, you must learn

to drink by all means : a man is honest in proportion to the number of bottles he can drink : keep a dozen dogs, but in particular if you have not the least use for them, and hate shooting and hunting. Four horses may barely serve ; but if you have eight, and seven of them are too vicious for the syce to feed them, it will be much better.

" By all means do not let the horses be paid for ; and have a palanquin* covered with silver trappings ; get 10,000 rupees in debt, but 20,000 would make you an honest man—especially if you are convinced that you will never have power to pay. Endeavour to forget whatever you have learned—ridicule learning of all sorts—despise all military knowledge—call duty a bore—encourage your men to laugh at your orders—obey such as you like—make a joke of your commanding officer for giving those commands you do not like, and, if you obey them, let it be so as to convince all your men that it is merely to serve yourself. These few rules will make you a gentleman and an officer, and it is the first lesson which young men take when they arrive in this country ; and, as I am your sincere friend, I sincerely recommend it to your careful attention."

In July 1769, Colonel Pearse (then Major) was ordered to proceed by water to the Presidency, in command of two Brigades of Artillery. The boats, both for passengers and baggage, appear to have been as bad as they now are. The detachment met with many severe losses : several budgerows and baggage boats being lost in bad weather. The 1st August, the detachment reached Berhampore and was ordered to halt, the services of the detachment not being required. Major Kindersley was at this time promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, notwithstanding a representation of the supersession was before the Court of Directors for their final decision. Major Pearse, of course, considered Major Kindersley's promotion as a still further grievance to him ; and he writes to Brigadier-General Smith, commanding the Bengal Army, to forward his views by getting him transferred to the Infantry : having given up all hopes of promotion in the Artillery :—

" The occurrences of the last month have informed me that Major Kindersley was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel on the 20th, and is to rank from the 8th November 1768. This, Sir, is the cause of my uneasiness ; not because that gentleman has got that rank, but because that rank to which I aspired is not vacant and not to be disposed of, but is filled up, and as far as man can judge, likely to continue so for many years, and because I am thereby

* Colonel Pearse mentions 1,500 rupees as no uncommon price for a palanquin in his time !

cut off any chance of obtaining the next rank, and consequently must expect to be superseded by officers at present below me.

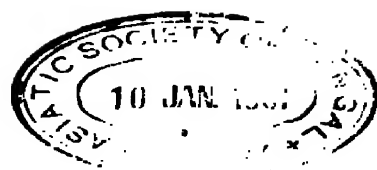
"The Infantry points out a very different prospect: assures those who are happy enough to be in it, that they will arrive at rank, by which they may be sure to secure a competency, or at least something sufficient to make their latter days not burthensome to themselves or their friends; and though the chief command of the Artillery may promise as fair a chance of obtaining a competency, yet I can truly assert that I know it not, and that command is less an object of my wishes than a removal from the corps; and happy should I think myself could I obtain a removal from the Artillery to the Infantry, with the rank I have."

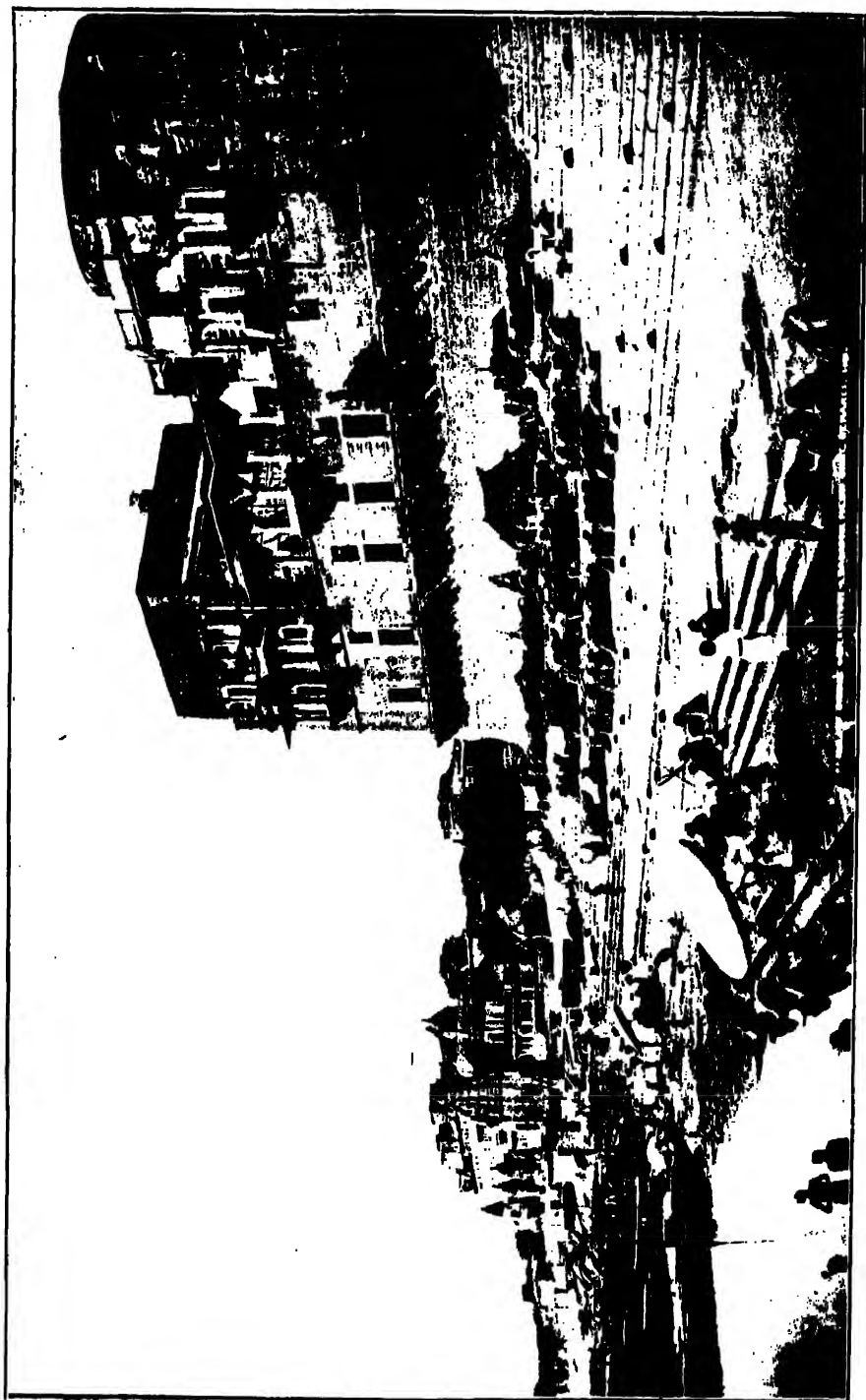
The orders of the Court of Directors were, however, positive that no removals from the Artillery to the Infantry should take place. Fortunately for Colonel Pearse, he was not long kept out of that command which he was so justly entitled to, and for which he was so well qualified. On the 28th day of October, 1769, a letter from General Smith to Colonel Pearse communicated the intelligence of the death of Major Kindersley, on the 24th of the month; and General Smith adds:—"The Governor and Council have taken your case into consideration, and I have the pleasure to congratulate you on being this day promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel and Commandant of the Artillery, till the pleasure of the Honourable Court of Directors is known."

In the latter part of 1770, Colonel Pearse was called upon to attend Sir Robert Barker, Commander-in-Chief, on his tour of inspection to the Upper Provinces; he has the Commandant of Artillery following him, for the purpose of proceeding to the different advance stations in the field, and to survey the Artillery and stores. After having completed this arduous duty, Colonel Pearse began his return to Fort William and visited Benares with Sir Robert Barker in March 1771. There he had an opportunity of examining the observatory, of which he gives the following interesting description in a letter to General Desaguliers:—

"The principal curiosity here is the observatory, built by Mawnaing, the son of Jyaing, about 200 years ago; there is an exceedingly good mural arch cut upon a fine plaster of chunam, so fine and smooth, that it has the appearance of marble; and though it is certainly very old, it still is perfect, but the index is wanting; that is a loss which could very easily be supplied by a person who has a taste for these studies; for the centres are left in the wall.

"There are two ring dials; the large one is oblique: the radius of the stone arch is 9 feet 8 inches; the gnomon is 4 feet 6 inches thick,





and its slant side about 40 feet long : there are steps in the gnomon by which you ascend to the top of it. By the measure of the two gnomons, I find they stand in latitude $25^{\circ} 20'$ N. There are likewise two small inclined dials, in which the gnomon is perpendicular to the plane of the stone on which the degrees are marked. Lastly, there is an instrument which I do not understand, the following is a description of it :—

" *A, b* are circular walls ; *a* is 24 inches thick, and near 16 feet radius ; *b* is concentric with *a*, 18 inches thick, and between 12 and 13 feet radius. *C* is a cylinder of stone, its centre is the centre of the walls. *B* and *c* are of equal height, *viz.*, 4 feet 2 inches ; the outward wall is 8 feet 4 inches. The tops of these walls are horizontal, and are very nicely divided into degrees, and sub-divided into arches of $6'$. At the cardinal points on the top of the wall *a*, there are two iron pins, from which I conjecture there has been an instrument to fix upon the wall, though I do not know for what purpose or of what kind.

" Lastly the second, for I had forgotten an instrument for taking the declension of the sun, etc., which consists of a circle of iron, covered with brass, an axis, of the same materials, and an index with sights. This axis, which is a diameter of a circle, and consequently in the plane of it, moves on pivots fixed in the walls, which support it and is parallel to the axis of the earth. The divisions are very much inferior to those on the stone."

Colonel Pearse, instead of returning to the Presidency, was, however, called upon by Sir Robert Barker to proceed to join a detachment of the Army in camp, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Grant, in order to be president of a Court Martial on a Lieutenant Osborne. Colonel Pearse accordingly proceeded to the camp, and the detachment marched to Mongheer, where the Court Martial commenced its proceedings in May 1771, on various charges for crimes committed by Lieutenant Osborne during a temporary suspension from service. The proceedings were protracted to an unusual length by Lieutenant Osborne disputing the power of the Court to try him ; because, when he committed the actions for which the charges were sent against him, he considered himself as being under suspension, and not under military authority ; and when his protest was unanimously invalidated by the Court, he objected to not less than ten of the Members of the Court, eight of whom he called on as witnesses. After various delays and difficulties, in which the conduct of Colonel Pearse and his knowledge of Military law showed how fitly he had been selected to be president of the Court Martial, the proceedings which had taken up four months, were closed about the end of September 1771, and

in the early part of December following, Colonel Pearse proceeded to Fort William.

In a letter to General Pattison, 23rd March, 1772, Colonel Pearse gives an interesting sketch of the state of affairs at this important crisis, and of the approaching entrance of Mr. Hastings into the Government.

"The King of Delhi has thrown himself into the hands of the Mahrattas ; he, of himself, is of but little consequence, because he is not remarkably clever, nor active ; but his name gives a sanction to the incursions of the Mahrattas, and they and our other good friends, being excited and assisted by the French, will most likely involve us in a ruinous war. I thank God, by the late changes in our Government, we are likely to have a very clever Council. Mr. Hastings' abilities are known, so that if we are to be troubled, we shall be better steered than we have been.

"The French Settlement swarms with Europeans ; and lately they have entertained a great many natives as lascars, who are all gone in the ships to Mauritius, where I dare say they will be thoroughly disciplined, and, having once removed from home, they will not be likely to desert on orders to march here or there. Thus everything they do carries the face of some deep design. Our Council has had so many French connections and so many intermarriages, that the late Governor looked upon the French as friends, and they almost rode us, out of pure regard. Time will show what the present set will do. I think they suspect something ; for since Hastings' arrival the 3rd Brigade has marched down and will in a day or two encamp opposite Chandernagore. Next month is to give Hastings the chair : swiftly may the minutes fly and quickly may the hour come ! They say, and I firmly believe it, that the present Governor is a man of the most amiable and angelic private character ; may I ever be governed by men who have some resolution in their stations. My sentiment is that a good Governor may be of a bad private character ; and a man of the best private character may be a bad Governor ; because the head is concerned, and the heart should be full of public virtue."

In the year 1770 a dreadful famine visited the Company's Provinces in Bengal ; and one-third of the population was computed to have perished. During the preceding year, the rains had been partial ; the Company's Government was not popular, and cultivation had been neglected. When grain began to be scarce, an impolitic proceeding of Government, in consequence,

was attended with the most fatal effects. Colonel Pearse thus introduces the circumstances in a letter to General Pattison, 1772 :—

“ The pernicious system of supervisors was his (Mr. Cartier's). The event has proved that I, and many others, judged rightly of it. That the famine was more artificial than real must be evident from these circumstances ; *vis.*, at Buxar the river is a cannon shot wide for a 3-Pr. Buxar is in our district : the country opposite is part of Sujah-ul-Dowlah's dominion, a fief held by the son of Bulwan Sing : his country abounded with plenty when we were in the utmost distress ; and on his shores were well supplied villages, when thousands starved at Buxar. He kept his country so because he would not allow of that exportation which was desired to be made. Had this plentiful country been in our hands, and subject to an English potentate (supervisor), the whole produce would have been seized and either sold or exported. Within every district every man is obliged to offer the produce of his land to the supervisor at his price. Without leave of this tyrant there is not a man who dares to buy or dares to sell, as I know, by experience ; even to fowls, rice, everything.

“ In that country there hardly is a square mile uncultivated, and it everywhere swarms with inhabitants. In our's, cottages are hardly to be found—whole villages are deserted—the country is waste. The men, who had influence, have not enough now to command respect as gentlemen ; their riches are daily decreasing ; or those who will not submit to waste their substance daily flee from this country : so that in a little time we shall have land enough and not be able to get food from it. When God gave rain, and plenty was likely to follow, and the rice was cut, and grain begun to be sold, then and immediately the old rice, which before had been selling at 3 or $3\frac{1}{4}$ seers for the rupee, fell down to 8, and then to 10 or 12 ; where could it come from ? for the new straw did not produce old rice, but new.

“ That the Native Government would have made a scarcity by the same means is certain, provided we had not been in power ; but had the country been in its former state, and scarcity had been occasioned, we, by our power, would have opened the magazines and saved the multitude. But when the tyranny was in our own hands—when we alone profitted by the miseries of others ; we could not find it in our hearts to do good, because our purse must have been lighter. Had every man been free to sell, and had been protected by us from oppression of the Native Government,

every man who had a surplus would have carried it to the market for a better price; but as the matter was, each man concealed as much as he could, and what was not concealed, he was compelled to sell to those who could and did lock it up to retail to the destruction of others. The very orders given at the Darbar, to buy up all the grain that could be got, and send it to Moorshedabad, were the destruction of this country; for they were obeyed. The inhabitants could get no food in the country; they fled to the city after grain; but the grain was too well secured for them to get a mouthful, and the unfortunate people died by thousands. The Governor erred from want of judgment and bad counsel; he did not share in the horrid plunder; he is a man of good character and amiable in the extreme; but there never was a Governor less capable, less active, less resolute. Much I fear the distress of the country is beyond even Mr. Hastings' abilities to restore."

To General Desaguliers.

Our incidious friends, the French, have been very active. They have persuaded the King to leave us, and he has done it, and say it is his own caprice. The proofs are strong against the supposition; for the King never spoke publicly on the subject till just before he went. It was not then known that our Ministry had patched up a convention, and that we daily expected a French war. We have since had certain advices that the French had collected a great force at Mauritius; and that they intend to attack us here is beyond dispute, seeing that they sold off their effects, and sent to Mauritius all the Bengal pilots. Nay, we now know that there is still a great force at Mauritius, and the King is certainly in motion. His going was nicely timed, and by the message he has sent us, it is evident that he does not mean to assist us because he has demanded the provinces from us. Let this be weighed—what must be the conclusion? That it is the act of the French, and that the King and Mahrattas are in league with them against us. That Sujah-ul-Dowlah is an enemy in his heart, we know well—that he is much inclined to the French is certain. He has been long aiming, and is now in readiness to take what side he pleases. It is said his troops have mutinied for want of pay: these are only his sepoys, and he has said he will never fight us with infantry, but with horse distress and ravage us. He buys horses wherever he can, and at any price. This shows that he does not

want money, and the preparation shows what he intends. Yet our Governor looks upon him as a fast friend, because he refused to go to Delhi, and join the King, and says he will oppose the Mahrattas.

To oppose us, he must assemble forces, horses, etc. We too well know that where there is a good understanding, the grimace of quarrelling is easily put on. When the King was going, he and Sujah quarrelled., Sujah invited him to dinner; the King accepted the invitation, and the entertainment was prepared. The King then refused to go for fear of being poisoned. Sujah observed that, if His Majesty was so suspicious, even when he had the English Army close at hand to punish him, that he would have greater reason when he would be absent from such friends. What a farce? Sujah with a dagger, waiting for the opportunity of stabbing us, pretends friendship and a good opinion to lull us into security; and we like fools swallow the bait. Now Sujah kept up the farce by pretending to arm against the King; but he lets his infantry mutiny for want of pay, that he may use the money for arming horse and filling his treasury. Our treasury is empty enough. Ten thousand horse would easily cut off our collection of revenues, and this Sujah knows; and we are all well acquainted that without money our sepoy will not stay: for, as it is they desert by hundreds if they are ordered to march either up or down the country. I wish time may prove I am deceiving myself, and that I have erred in my opinion."

Colonel Pearse had a severe attack of illness this year, and was obliged to go to Madras for change of air. He sailed from Bengal on the 30th November. This trip restored him to his usual health. Of the climate of Calcutta, which we trust has improved of late years, he thus speaks in writing to his uncle, Admiral Mann:—

"The air of Calcutta is in summer like to a hot steam-room: and in winter like a cold steam house. All the air is in every season full of moisture and of saltpetre. Do not wonder that it has acted upon my body."

Early in March, however, Colonel Pearse returned to Fort William he and thus writes to General Pattison:—

29th March.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

I wrote to you from Madras by the *Triton*. I was then mending. Soon after, I heard all Bengal was in an uproar; and I set out by the

very first conveyance to get back to partake of the general confusion. I arrived on the 8th instant; but where to find the confusion I know not. The Mahrattas are scampering about; but I believe there will not be a drop of blood spilt; nevertheless a body of our forces is marched to support Sujah-ul-Dowlah and the Rohillas against the Mahrattas. This is necessary to keep them, our best allies, firm in our interest: for otherwise, they might take part against us by joining the Mahrattas. I have received orders to proceed to army, and shall set off in two or three days to travel about 1,000 miles on men's shoulders, which journey I hope to finish by the 1st of May.

Letter to Admiral Mann.

Fort William, 29th December, 1773.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"After traversing Hindoostan to overtake the Army at Ramgaut, and being disappointed by hearing of their march back, in consequence of the retreat of the Mahrattas, I went from Allahabad to Phaizabad, the capital of Sujah-ul-Dowlah's dominions, to meet the General. There my dear friend Moore was taken ill of a disorder, which, unhappily for me, ended his days, after he had lingered from July to October. Thus was I deprived of a friend whom I could trust, which is the greatest blessing a man can have in Hindoostan. He died of the liver; which was the disorder I labored under last year. I myself was taken very ill at Sultanpore in August, and again in September, at Chunarghur. I do not wonder at it. Moore and myself travelled post through the violent heats, and were afterwards in tents during the whole of the rains."

In another letter he says:—

"When I left Calcutta, our army was encamped at Ramgaut, which is about 50 miles from Delhi on the eastern side of the Ganges, and about 150 from the cataract, called the Cow's Mouth. It is the source of the Ganges: for there the stream first takes this name and there is the sanctum sanctorum of the Hindoos. But before I had reached Allahabad, the Mahrattas had retreated and our army was on its march back. A few shots were exchanged across the Ganges. Two or three asses, a lame horse, and, I believe, an old tree were hurt; and the cords of the tent of the Commander-in-Chief were in danger. Thus ended the glorious campaign, without my assistance; but it had all the effect of a bloody one: for the enemy found we were in earnest; and supposing they were not capable of coping with our forces, they

returned and left all their conquests (if the country they overran deserves to be called so) to those who chose to take them. The heat made it advisable for our troops to do the same: and, on the 1st July, I found them in huts, called cantonments, near Sultanpore, which is a town on the banks of the Goompotre—a small river, confined in most parts within very steep banks of hard stony clay.

"This place is about 25 coss from Phaizabad (or Oude), formerly a small village near Oude, and a garden of the Nawab's, where he had a bungalow (*i.e.*, a house built of bamboos, and straw, and mats lined with striped linen, or richest silks) which still retains, amongst the country people, the name of Oude bungalow. This is the residence and capital of Sujah-ul-Dowlah. Sultanpore was once a place of some note; it is now a heap of rubbish."

The attack on the Rohillas took place this year; an event which will be an indelible stain in the records of the British Government of India, by which the liberties of an unoffending state were unjustifiably invaded, their country desolated, and the blood of the peaceable inhabitants spilt to satisfy the mercenary views of an insidious ally. Neither prudence, nor necessity justified this act; and humanity shrinks from the recollection of it.

There is not a darker stain in the Government of Hastings, not even the fatal persecution of the unfortunate Nuncomar; even Colonel Champion, who commanded the English force, in his despatches to Government, expresses his indignation at the atrocities his Army was witness to, which were committed by Sujah-ul-Dowlah and his troops. Colonel Pearse mentions the circumstances in these terms: "I was not permitted to go into the field; so I missed the famous Rohilla fight on St. George's day, and had not a share of Colonel Champion's honors."

And to General Pattison he thus writes, with a true soldier's feeling:—

"Here has been a campaign against the poor Rohillas, an independent people, bordering on the dominions of our ally, the infamous Sujah-ul-Dowlah. A battle was fought on St. George's day: in Europe it would have been called a cannonade; for there was not a musket fired by orders, the distance being too great. When the Rohillas retired, Sujah-ul-Dowlah's brave horse, which, whilst danger to be apprehended, courageously guarded the rear, undauntedly moved up, and heroically cut down the running women, children, and unarmed multitude. However, the Rohilla chief, the noble Hafiz Rhamat Khawn, died like a soldier in the field; fighting in the noblest cause, the defence of his country and its liberties. A cannon shot deprived the hero of his life, and left his body to be insulted by the cruel, dastardly, wretched

Sujah-ul-Dowlah, who, acting in character, caused the head to be brought before him, and then, like a true coward, insulted by pulling it by the whiskers and loading it with other marks of ignominy. My consolation in not being with the Army was, that the war was un-British. Britons, the most tenacious of their own liberties, were joining their powerful arms to conquer a free people, who neither had offended them, nor could offend : so remote, their country was unknown—so little undesirous of quarrelling with their neighbours, that all their wish was to preserve their own peace. The only favor they asked was, that we would not draw our swords against them, but leave them to maintain their laws against the cruel invaders of their liberties. But alas ! we heard them not ; we fought and conquered ; and a peace is now concluded, the particulars of which are such profound secrets, that I would not for the world attempt to dive into them.

" I stopped at Allahabad, because the Army was on its return. Whilst I remained there, Mr. Laurel, a member of the Council, arrived, and took possession of Korah and Allahabad for the Company, and sat at the Cutcherry. The next day I went off to Phaizabad, where the General was. About the middle of July, he left that place to go to Benares to meet the Governor, who was coming upon a visit and business to meet the Vizier.

" The country was entirely under water : the rains incessant ; the whole, of course, very uncomfortable, especially to travellers. I followed the General to Benares, and should have accompanied him, but I was stopped by a fever. The Governor had arrived some days before I did, and the ceremonious meeting was over here. A treaty, by which Allahabad and Korah were conceded to Sujah-ul-Dowlah for certain considerations, which you know better in England than I do. However, I was told 20 lacs down and 50 in three payments. Mfheer-ul-Dowlah, who was Viceroy of these provinces, died at a very great age, soon after the Governor, etc., left Benares : it is said of vexation and grief ; but I believe age to have had a much greater share. Thus I happened to be present at some very interesting transactions, which may possibly afford conversation at home. I shall not make any remarks. It suffices that I relate what I saw and know."

Colonel Pearse afterwards went to Chunarghur, to survey the stores and garrison and then returned to Fort William. Sir Robert Barker, about this time, resigned the Commander-in-Chiefship and went home ; and was succeeded by Colonel Chapman, who also resigned on the 18th January, 1774,

and went to Europe. He was succeeded by Colonel Champion in the Command of the Army.

(*To be continued.*)

[EDITOR'S NOTE.—For the famine of 1770 the reader will consult Sir W. Hunter's *Annals of Rural Bengal*, and against the harsh, not to say violent, criticism of the Rohilla War he will set Sir John Strachey's *Hastings and the Rohilla War*.]



AN
ACCOUNT OF THE LOSS
OF THE
"GROSVENOR" INDIAMAN,

COMMANDED BY

CAPT. *John Coxon*

On the 4th August 1782 (inferred from the Portuguese
Description of the *Coast* of AFRICA to have happened
between 28° and 29° S.)

with

A *RELATION* OF THE *EVENTS*

WHICH BEFEL

THOSE *Survivors* WHO HAVE REACHED ENGLAND,

vis :

ROBERT PRICE,
THOMAS LEWIS,
JOHN WARMINGTON,
AND
BARNEY LAREY.

BEING THE REPORT GIVEN IN TO THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

BY

ALEXANDER DALRYMPLE, Esq.

PUBLISHED WITH THE APPROBATION

OF THE

COURT OF DIRECTORS.

A NEW EDITION. LONDON, 1785.

The Loss of the "Grosvenor."*

ADVERTISEMENT.

August 14, 1783.



THE following relation of the loss of the *Grosvenor*, and of the events which befel those survivors who have reached England, is the result of my examination of Robert Price, Thomas Lewis, John Warmington, and Richard Larey, at the desire of Sir Henry Fletcher, the present Chairman of the East India Company.

I took, in presence of Captain Burnet Abercromby, the examination of Price separately, and of Warmington and Larey together; Lewis I examined myself. After taking notes of Price's report, these notes were read to him and he was desired to correct any mistakes that might have been made; he did so in some circumstances, and in one particularly, which gave me a strong impression of his precision. The note stated "that the natives had but one shoe and made great springs in hunting." On reading the notes to the boy he remarked, that "the shoe he had seen, but that their making great springs he had been told by the Dutch." His relation is marked with inverted commas, and the initials to the paragraphs distinguish the other authorities, where they all agreed in essentials. I have omitted the signature, when cross-questioned they nowhere expressly differed from the boy.

I have not intentionally omitted any of his ideas or impressions, nor have I added any of my own; it however gives me much satisfaction to see so many efforts of generosity and mutual assistance; perhaps in this there may be some tincture from favourite opinions, as I cannot believe the world collectively half so bad as it is supposed by some, though I am ready to admit the *depravity*, of such individuals, as *great*, as their own imagination can conceive the corruption of the whole to be.

After I had reduced the different reports to one relation, I read the whole over before Captain Abercromby, in presence of the four persons, desiring they

* Spelling and Punctuation according to the original pamphlet. For the special Calcutta interest see *General and Part & Present*, Vol. II, p. 241. At the Indian Record Department may be seen the account of the wreck sworn to by De Larso, Humberley, Hydes, Feancon. It varies but little from this account.—W. K. F.

would point out any mistake I might have made : they did so in a few instances, and added considerable elucidations, of which I have profited, and I afterwards read over to the boy, by himself, everything taken from his relation.

The dates must not be considered as precise. Here the boy totally fails me, after separating from the Captain and ladies ; till that event, their accounts agree nearly in time : the boy will not even give a conjecture of dates after, and the others do not pretend to be exact, and the different events are contradictory in time.

Lewis reports that the Dutch distinguish four people beyond the Hottentots.

First, the *Caffrees* with whom he lived, separated from the Hottentots by an uninhabited country. The Caffrees country, as well as the adjacent part of the Hottentot country is sand-downs to the sea, the habitations being at some distance inland.

Second, The *Tambookers* }
Third, The *Mambookers* } between which is an uninhabited country.

The Dutch party sent in quest of the wreck, travelled into the Mambookers country, crossing the uninhabited country, which they first passed after leaving the Captain and the ladies. The Dutch party was stopped by the Mambookers, "who asked if they thought them fools to let them go through their country."

Fourth, the *Abonyas*, where the Dutch suppose the ship was lost.

From *Manoel Mesquita de Perestrello* I find that from *Fishery Point* in $29^{\circ} 20'$ S. to the N. Eastward towards *Point St. Lucia* in $28^{\circ} 30'$ S. the Land is cliffs on the shoar : both to the Northward and Southward of this Space the Coast is Sand Downs ; so that the *Grosvenor*, by the description of the coast where she was lost, must have been wrecked between $28^{\circ} 30'$ S. and $29^{\circ} 20'$ S. I think the *Point* in sight to the Northward of them was *Point St. Lucia*, and that therefore they were lost in nearly $28^{\circ} 30'$ S.

It could not possibly be in above 31° S. Latitude, as Lewis and Warmingtton report ; for they all agree, that melancholly event happened in the *Caffree Country*, terminated on the South by the *Great Visch River*, in about 30° S. Latitude, which they passed in the latter part of their journey from the wreck, in which journey they employed three months before they came to the *Dutch Farms* near *Swathops River* in about 31° S. Latitude.

In great part, their Calamities seem to have arisen from want of management with the Natives ; I cannot therefore in my own mind doubt, that many lives may yet be preserved amongst the natives, as they treated the individuals that fell singly amongst them, rather with kindness than brutality,

although it was natural to expect that so large a body of Europeans would raise apprehensions ; and fear always produces Hostility.

In this Confidence I cannot omit to recommend, that some small Vessel should be ordered to range the coast, from the Limits of the *Dutch Farms* to Dela Goa ; and, as this is a matter of Humanity in which the State is concerned, I am led to take notice, that the *Swift*, lately arrived from the *West Indies* with *Admiral Pigot*, a small Vessel of 50 Tons and a remarkable fine Sailor, is the fittest Vessel that can be imagined for this Service ; it being necessary for the Vessel to keep close to the shoar, and to be able to make her way off in case of blowing weather. I shall conclude with adding that not only *Humanity* to the *Survivors*, but the *Season* require, that there should be no delay in dispatching this Vessel from England.

The number of persons on board is reported to have been 153 ; but this must certainly be a mistake, for the list sent by *C. Coxen* from Trincomalé only amounts to 139 including children ; Captain Talbot and his suite are not indeed in that list ; but the number which they can specify, including Captain Talbot and two persons who came aboard with him, and 29 lascars, does not exceed 142.

DALRYMPLE.

AN ACCOUNT
OF THE LOSS OF THE
"GROSVENOR"

INDIAMAN

On the 4th of August, 1782.

WITH A RELATION OF THE EVENTS WHICH BEFEL THOSE SURVIVORS WHO
HAVE REACHED ENGLAND, *vis.*, ROBERT PRICE, THOMAS LEWIS,
JOHN WARMINGTON, AND BARNEY LAREY.

On 13th June the ship left *Trincomalé*. They saw *no land* after leaving *Ceylon* till the 4th August when the ship was lost. At 8 P.M., of the 4th August, by sea reckoning, when *Thomas Lewis* left the helm, the course was W.N.W. with a fair wind ; the Ship was then under double reefed topsails and foretop-gallant sail ; maintop-gallant mast being down, their main-mast having been fished ; the mast was faulty before they left *Trincomalé*, and they met a hard gale of wind after leaving that port. It was fished about six days before they ran ashore, and the same day they

fished their mast they saw a small brig, which was the only vessel they saw in their passage after leaving Trincomalé.—T. L.

In the middle watch the wind having come to the S.W. the second mate had laid the ship on the starboard track, but the Captain came out and put the ship about again; he heard the Captain say he was 300 miles from land by his account, which was the headmost.*

The wind having freshened in the S.W. and blowing hard in squalls the Ship was under fore sail, fore stay-sail and mizzen stay-sail, and standing, he believes, about N. W. to N. about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3 A.M., he was sent aloft to get down the fore-top-gallant yard, he thought he saw the *land* and came down to tell, but he was sent up again, as they would not believe him; after the watch was relieved at 4 A.M., having been detained in getting down the top-gallant yard, when he came from aloft about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 4 he saw the *land* plainly from deck, but the third mate who had relieved the second mate, the chief mate being sick, would not believe it, saying it was only the reflection of the sky, and would not put the Ship's head off to sea; Wm. Mixon, Quarter-Master, went in and told the Captain, who came out and wore the Ship immediately and in wearing she struck, they had just time to call all hands at once: the wind very soon shifted and came off shoar, when they hoisted up the fore-top sail and endeavoured to back off, but they only twisted the Ship's head off shoar and her stern upon the rocks; the water gaining upon them very fast, the Ship was soon full of water; they cut away the masts, the main-mast went presently and drove ashore, the Coffrees clambered upon it to get the iron and copper, the foremast was a pretty while before it went, and they could not get clear of it the Ship's side, she remained with her head off shoar till she went to pieces, the sea breaking without her.

They hoisted out the yawl, but she was stove immediately: they made a raft, but the 7 inch hawser by which it was fast broke, and the raft drove ashore with four men on it; *three* were drowned, *viz.*, George Well-born, midshipman; Simon Griffiths, boatswain's first mate; Christopher Shear, poulterer; the fourth Laurence Jonesqua, was saved, and got ashore.

As soon as the ship was lost, two Lascars swam ashore with the lead line, and made a hawser fast to a large rock on the shoar; they did not understand aboard what they said; but Pandolpho having swam ashore soon after the Lascars, called to them, and they hove the hawser tort. Many of

* The boy, Robert Price, says "whilst he waited at supper, the Captain and Passengers were talking that they should see the *land* to-morrow or next day: the Captain had been looking out with his glass in the afternoon, but he does not know whether he was looking for *land* or what.

the sailors got ashoar by this hawser, and some were drowned in the attempt by the hawser's slackening, *vis.* :—

John Woodward ... Quarter Master.

Thomas Gentils

Val. Pyers

John Higgins

Andrew Nowland

John Morrison

Bartholemew West

Thomas Mayo

Francis Dogherty

} Seamen.

Joseph Barkini was drowned in swimming ashoar with Pandolpho; a lad, who came aboard with Captain Talbot, was never seen after the ship struck, and a black man, assistant to the Captain's cook was drowned in the ship; all the rest of the 15 got ashoar; he, the boy, Robert Price, was forced off the hawser, and his head dashed against the rock by a violent sea, the cut he received, of which the mark remains, was so bad, that he was not able to help himself, and would have been drowned if Francis De Larso had not taken hold of his hair, and pulled him out of the sea, and then others assisted to draw him up by the arms: this wound made him take less notice of what passed whilst they kept by the wreck.—P.

About noon the ship parted by the forechains, and about 1 P.M. by the main chains. Almost 100 persons were aboard when the ship parted: the ship lay down very much, they got the Ladies out at the starboard quarter gallery, the people standing on the starboard side of the ship, and when she parted the sick sunk down into the sea with them all upon it, and floated into shallow water, when the sailors helped the ladies and children on shore, the body of the wreck breaking off the swell. Captain Talbot of the navy who was a passenger, and some others came ashoar on the fore part of the ship. They made a tent of a new mizzen topsail for the Ladies, etc., on the flattish part of the rock, where they found plenty of fresh water gushing out amongst the rocks.

The ship was lost just to the *northward* of a *rocky point*, where there was a high surf; the coast was rocky, slanting up, and a top flat with grass, in some places very high, which the natives are accustomed to burn; beyond the country hilly and woody "a little to the southward of where the ship was cast away, the cliffs were steep almost right up and down, so that there is no passing along the sea-side, a little to the *northward* was a *sandy bite* where most of the things were cast ashoar, ending in a *low blackish point*; in the *sandy bite* there was a *creek*, into which many things drove, particularly a

cask of wine and one of their sows which was killed against the rocks, the creek was full of large rocks which they passed over at low-water.

"Plenty of timber from the wreck, and the booms and sails were cast ashore, sufficient to have built and fitted several vessels, nor were tools, as adzes, etc., wanting. "Plenty of beef and pork came ashore, but all in pieces; there was one cask of flour also came ashore, and some of the hogs which the natives killed particularly one boar, who thought himself the king of the place, rutting up the ground: the natives coming to catch him, he turned up his snout and grunted at them, so they were afraid to seize him, but killed him with a lance, and the women and men cut him up.

"Provision was sufficient for about 8 or 9 days, which was as much as they could carry, the ship steward made a distribution of that and what cloaths they could pick up."

It was on Sunday morning the ship was lost, and on Wednesday morning they set out to travel to the CAPE, the Captain saying that they would get there in 16 or 17 days at farthest, but he hoped in 10 days. All their arms were 5 or 6 cutlasses; plenty of fire arms were cast ashore but no gun-powder.—T. L.

"After the ship struck the natives pointed the *other way*,* not the way they travelled afterwards and said *something*, which they imagined was to tell them that there was a *bay* that way; he was told by the Dutch, the ship was lost near *Rio la Goa*,† and that there was a great river between:‡ by the distance the party went without reaching the wreck, the Dutch said the ship was lost *nearer La Goa* than any Dutch from the Cape had ever gone by land."

As soon as the ship was lost, the natives, who are all *woolly-headed*, came down to pick up what iron or other metal they could, but they did not seem to regard the bales which were thrown ashore, only slitting them with their lances as they passed.—W. and L.

The natives dress their heads high** with a hollow in the middle, and stuck into their hair the brass nails, picked up from the trunks cast ashore. They had very little clothing.—W. and L.

"Whilst they remained by the wreck the natives did not offer any violence, but stole what they liked and ran away."

At the end of three days they staid by the wreck, the chief part of it remaining together was the head and cut-water.—W. and L.

* *i.e.*, to the N. E.

† Which we call *Delagoa*, and the French *S'Esprit*, or *Lorenus-Maryana*.

‡ Probably what the natives alluded to, and what the Doddington's crew call *St. Lucia*, and place 28° 14' S. Lat.

** None of them saw anything like the *Tallow Heads* mentioned in the account of this Country published with *Dampier's Voyage*.

When they set out the chief mate was carried being sick ; the 2nd mate led the van, the Captain in the rear and the ladies in the middle, they kept regular watch in their journey.—T. L.

John Bryan, being lame and unable to walk, and Joshua Glover, a fool, staid by the wreck.

As soon as they marched the natives threw stones and hove their lances at them, "they could not get along the sea-side on account of the steep cliffs to the Southward* of them, but they travelled along the top of these cliffs, never far from the coast, and always in sight of the sea, except in passing the hollows, they sometimes found paths of the Coffrees which they travelled along, and in some places were grass, and along the shore some parts were sandy, some parts rocky.

"The day after leaving the wreck, from whence the natives followed them, they fell in with a man *lighter-coloured* than the natives with *straight hair*, they supposed him a *Malayman* (but the Dutch suppose it was a Dutchman named *Trout*), he came up to them, clapping his hands and calling *Engles, Engles* ; * he talked Dutch with John Suffman, Mr. William's servant, and told them that the CAPE was a great way off! and being desired to guide them, said he could not, as he was afraid of being killed if he went into the Christian country : they offered him any money if he could conduct them, he said he did not want *money* but *copper* : they said they would load him with *copper* ; but he would not go. He advised them to go along the *coast* for that *inland* they would meet the *Boschmen Hottentots* who would kill them all : this man was with the natives, but he thinks they were not the same kind of people as those where the ship was lost, because they were taller and not so black, and had their cheeks painted red, with feathers in their heads, he thinks Ostrich feathers.†

"He believes the Malay was a rogue as he shewed the natives where their pockets were.

"The Captain had a stick with a bayonet on it, which the natives snatched away out of his hand, but the Malayman persuaded them to give it back ; the natives with whom the Malay was, came and cut off their buttons.

"The natives always left them at night ; they had but one shoe, made of buffaloe hide, which they wear on the right foot, it has no top leather,

* Thomas Lewis says the Dutch distinguish four different people, viz. :

1st. *The Coffrees*. Where he lived.

2nd. *Tambooshers* } Between which there is a track of good country uninhabited,

3rd. *Mambooshers* }

4th. *Abarayas*. Where they suppose the ship was lost.

† In the Doddington's Journal they mention to have seen among the Coffrees a lad about 12 or 14 years of age whom they supposed an Eutopian ; the latitude is not mentioned.

except over the toe, and is tied round the ankle with two strings from the heel. The Dutchman, with whom he afterwards remained, told him that they make great springs when they go a hunting." Lewis says they wear one shoe and are very nimble, that he could not run half so fast. They are sometimes out for 3 or 4 days from their huts, they feed their dogs with what they catch, not eating it themselves, and only bringing home a little on their knob sticks.—T. L.

(10th or 11th August.) About 3 or 4 days after leaving the wreck, the Captain going up a very high hill, took a lance from one of the natives, who endeavoured by signs and entreaty, as his words were supposed, to get it back but to no purpose: there was no village than in sight, but he went away to the village and called the rest who came out with their lances and targets.—T. L.

"The Captain put the Ladies, and those who were unable to do anything upon a rising ground with the baggage, and then attacked the natives and drove them out of the village.—T. L. W. and L.

"The weapons used by the natives were targets made of hides to cover themselves, so that when our people threw stones at them they could never hit them; they had reddish sticks, seemingly dyed with a wooden knob at the end, and lances; but not choosing to loose the iron of the lance, they drew out the lance-staffs and sharpened the end, and threw these staffs at our people: it was one of these they stuck into Mr. Newman's ear, he was stunned and fell down, on which the natives made a noise."

One of the natives, "having fallen down in running away, he was overtook by the boatswain and others," and bruised terribly, but the Captain told them not to kill any.—T. L.

"Afterwards the natives brought sweet potatoes to exchange for the lance-staffs and sticks they had thrown at our people."

They sat down peaceably round and the Captain had some toys which he gave them, and they went away; after stopping about two hours our people proceeded, the natives did not molest them but let them go.—T. L. confirmed by Price.

After this skuffle they never opposed the natives, but let them take what they pleased.—W. and L., etc.

"Having proceeded on, after beating the natives, about 3 or 4 miles further, in the evening the Malay came up with them, he laughed at the dispute that had happened, and being asked which was the right road? said *that* he was going. He had been at the wreck where he had got a load of iron and had on a long gown of the Captain's which he had found there.

"After the Malay had left them, they marched on and met some other natives, from whom they got some sweet potatoes for buttons; and after travelling some way it began to rain a little, whereupon they made a fire of grass and tufts, there being no bushes nigh; and after resting a little they went on and took up their lodgings for the night at some bushes a-top of a hill under a bank, with a running stream of fresh water in the hollow beneath.

(11th or 12th August). "Next day they came to the village where the Malayman's house was, it is by the sea-side; he brought his child to them and asked for a bit of pork for the child, the Captain said he was in great distress, but gave him a little bit for the child."

This Malayman looked at their buttons and called *Zimbe*, "which is copper." The Captain told them to give the natives nothing "because they would think they had more, and want to search them."—T. L. and P.

The officers and passengers would not let the seamen have any parley with the natives, thinking they could manage better with them.—W. and L.

"After leaving the Malayman's village, the natives followed throwing stones; the sailors desired to walk on, thinking the natives would not follow far; they came to a creek which they passed at low water, it was then about noon: they went on till evening, when they found water by the side of a hill: then the Coffrees came down and surrounded them, wanting to take buttons and such like from them, and wanting to search the Ladies: some of the natives kept on the hill, threatening to throw down great stones upon them.

"The sailors advised the Captain to go on, and not to sit still and let all their things be taken from them, but (Lewis says, the doctor being sick) he would not move, and so different people set off without him." The Lascars went first away and the natives followed them and robbed them.—T. L.

"After leaving the Captain, they saw at a distance the Ladies, etc. coming over a hill; that night they came to a salt water river and gathered wood to make a fire; they could not strike a light, but seeing a light on the other side of the river, one of the lascars swam over and lighted a stick at a Coffree hut, when he saw no people, he swam back over the river, with the stick and lighted a fire. Colonel and Mrs. James came up to them; as they had no water, Colonel James advised them to dig in the sand, which they did and got water, the same night the Captain and the ladies came up, and by next morning they all joined again, except Bastiano Nardeen, who had dropped behind being a big man and unable to walk, and the two who remained at the wreck.

"In their way this day they found a tree bearing a sweet berry, with one small hard stone, of which fruit they eat, but they found that it bound them

very much, the berry grows upon the branches, is about the size of a pea ; when ripe it is black, and, before it is ripe, red.

"In the morning, the Ladies waded over the river breast high, being supported by the sailors who carried over the children ; this was the *first river* since they left the ship, it was small, and after they got up the hill on the other side, they saw it almost dry, by the ebbing of the tide." This was about a week after leaving the wreck.

After crossing the river, Lascars and Mrs. Hosea's black maid Betty left them first ; and then some of the people set out, straggling, leaving the Captain and ladies behind. The Captain was not *sick*, but out of heart when they parted, and their provision was not then expended ; they know nothing of the Captain or Ladies since they parted about 10 days after the ship was lost.

"The natives never offered to carry away Mrs. Logie or any other of the Ladies ; nor offered them any injury, except taking their rings or such like."

The following persons were left with—

Captain Coxon	
Mr. Logie	... Chief Mate.
" Beale	... 3rd.
" Harris	... 5th.
5. " Hay	... Purser.
" Nixon	... Surgeon.
Robert Rea	... Boatswain.
John Hunter	... Gunner.
William Nixon	... Quarter-Master.
10. George M'Daniel	... Carpenter's 1st Mate.
James Mauleverer	... " 2nd Mate
John Edkins	... Caulker.
Wm. Stevens	... Butcher.
Frank Masoon	} Seamen }
15. Domo. Kircanio	
Jos Andr��	
Matthew Bell	
Roque Pandolpho	
John Stevens	
20. John Pope	} Chief Mate's Servant.
Jos. Thomson	
James Vandesteon	
John Hill	
Anto Da Cruz	
25. Patrick Fitzgerald	} Discharged soldiers & M
John Hudson	
Col. James.	
Mrs. James.	
Mr. Hosea.	
30. Mrs. Hosea.	
Mrs. Logie.	
Mr. Newman.	

Cap^t. Walterhouse Adair.

35. Wilmot.
Hosen. Children.

Chambers. ...

BLACK SERVANTS.

George Sims	...	Mr. Newman's.	
40. Reynel	...	Master Law's	
Dow	...	Mr. Hosen's,	
Betty	...	Mrs. Logie's	since arrived at the Cape, says her Mistress sent her away.
Sally	...	Mrs. James'.	
Mary	...	Miss Dennis'.	
45. Hoakim	...	Mrs. Hosen's.	
M. Plaideaux de Lisle		A French Officer	
J. Rousseau	...	Servant to Col. D'Espinette.	Went inland the same day after they left the Captain.

The same day they parted from the Captain and ladies, they came up again with the Lascars in a bit of a wood.—W. and L.

(About 16th August). The day after they came to a river's mouth, here Thomas Wren was knocked up; Francis Feancon and S. Paro also staid, saying they would swim across; the Lascars also parted from them again. They went up three days along the banks which are very hilly and steep. "Here they were robbed by the natives," and then crossed where its depth was about up to their middle. The French Colonel (D'Espinette) was left before they crossed the river, being quite knocked up; and a couple of hours after they had crossed (about 19th August) Captain Talbot was knocked up: his coxswain wanted to stay with him, but Captain Talbot would not let him, saying, it was of no manner of service; there were no natives with them, but they saw some huts soon after.—"This was a hilly country."—T. L., etc.

(About 24th August). "About 8 or 10 days after leaving the Captain, it was thought they were still too many together to be able to get provisions, and they parted again: the party which set out first consisted of 23 persons,* *vis.* :—

Robert Price	Captains' servant.	Then not much,	
	above 13 years of age.	Now in England?	
Barney Larey	...		
Wm. Thomson	... Midshipman	..	Dead (Feancon told T. L.)
Thomas Page	... Carpenter	...	Dead and buried. T. L., W. and L. C
5. Henry Lillharoe	... Ship's Steward	...	Left behind after passing Great Fish River.
Master Law	... Child of 5 or 6 years old...	...	Died 4th November.
James Thomson	... Quarter-Master	...	Left about 8 or 10 days after entering second inhabited country.
Thomas Shmonds	... Do.	...	Dead (Schultz told W.)

* In the enumeration they can only make out 22.

	Robert Auld	... Cooper	..	<i>Dead and buried in the sandy country.</i>
10.	George Reed	... Armourer	...	<i>Went back from Sandog's River to look for Mr. Lillburn, etc.</i>
	George Creighton	.. Caulker's mate	..	<i>Left at Great Visch River.</i>
	Wm. Couch	... Captain's steward	...	<i>Dead and buried at Sandog's River. P. W. and L.</i>
	Lan. Jonesqua	... Boatswain's yeoman	...	<i>Dead (at river Nye (or cK-ly) Feancon told T. L.)</i>
	Franco de Larso	...		<i>Gone to Copenhagen in the Lunsbury Left at Cape.</i>
15.	Jeremiah Evans	...	...	<i>Left in first uninhabited country near the inhabited country.</i>
	Lan. McEwen	...	...	<i>Left about 4 days after coming into and inhabited country.</i>
	Edw. Monck	...	...	<i>Left at Great Visch River dead (found by W.)</i>
	John Squires	...	...	<i>Left at Great Visch River dead (found by W.)</i>
	All. Schultz	...	...	<i>Left at Great Visch River dead (found by W.)</i>
20.	Tho. Parker	...	...	<i>Left at Great Visch River dead (found by W.)</i>
	Patrick Burne	...	...	<i>Dead (Feancon told T. L.)</i>
	Isaac (Blair qu.)	...	...	<i>Dead (Feancon told T. L.)</i>
	The other party consisted of 22 persons * viz. :-			
	John Warmington	... Boatswain's 2nd mate	...	<i>Now in England.</i>
	Thomas Lewis	... Seaman	...	<i>Left at a river in the first uninhabited country. (Hubberly told T. L. first who died.)</i>
	Mr. Shaw	... 2nd Mate	...	<i>Left by Hubberly at the river where Mr. Williams was killed.</i>
	Mr. Trotter	... 4th Do.	...	<i>Dead (Hubberly told T. L. that he was driven into a river and killed by the Coffrees).</i>
5.	Mr. Williams	... Passenger	...	<i>Dead (Hubberly told T. L. that he would not eat after Mr. Williams' death, and died 2 days after.)</i>
	Mr. Taylor	... Do.	...	<i>Dead (Hubberly told T. L. that he was left by Warmington at a river in first uninhabited country.</i>
	John Suffman	... Servant to Mr. Williams	...	<i>Gone to Copenhagen.</i>
	Wm. Hubberly	... Do. to Mr. Shaw	...	<i>Left at the same river as Mr. Shaw.</i>
	Wm. Ellis	... Servant to Colonel James	...	<i>Left at 3rd river to Eastward of Great Visch River (which is a large river at high water).</i>
10.	Edward Croaker	...	...	<i>Left at the same river as Mr. Shaw.</i>
	James Stockdale	...	...	<i>Gone to Copenhagen.</i>
	John Hynes	...	...	<i>Left in Sandy Country, before they came to Sandog's river.</i>
	Will. Fruei	...	...
	Chas. Berry	...	...
15.	James Simpson	...	...
	R. Fitzgerald	...	...
	Jacob Angel	...	...
	John Blain	...	...

* In the enumeration they make only 20.

John Howes	} Seamen.	... Left at same river with Mr. Shaw (Hubberly told T. L. was and who died about 3 days after Shaw.)
20. John Brown		... Left at a river.)

Master Law was first carried by William Thomson a midshipman, and then by each of the party in company by turns and when they were knocked up, Mr. Liliburne said he would save the boy's life, or lose his own.

"The first party continued on the sea coast the natives still about them, but dropping off little by little. The natives minded nothing but metal, one of the Coffrees took a watch (Hubberly told him) and then broke the watch with a stone, and picked the pieces out with their lance, and stuck them in their hair: this was up a pretty large salt water river.*

"They met a black Portuguese, rather young than old, in a house by a salt water river near the sea, he had two Coffrees women with him, his house was by itself, but there was a Coffree village [of five huts] near: this Portuguese had no cows, but he gave them three fish which he cooked for them, together with what shell fish they had picked up, and some white roots like potatoes." This was about three days after entering the second inhabited country.—L.

The other party went inland, and were three days out of sight of the sea, they were four days without seeing any inhabitants, though they saw some old huts and many wild beasts, elephants, tigers, etc., being distressed for provisions, they returned to the coast, where they fed on shell fish and fared pretty well when they came up to a dead whale, of which they saw three or four. They did not eat of the first or second, having no knife, but made a shift afterwards to cut it with a spike nail, till Warmington found a knife in a boat upset on the shoar.—W.

In about three weeks or a month, after parting with the Captain and the Ladies, they came into a sandy country, by this time they were separated into small parties.

The party in which Thomas Lewis was consisted of about eleven persons; Hubberly told him Mr. Shaw was the first who died, and in about three days after John Howes died; Lewis came on alone, and came up with the Carpenter, etc., near a deep narrow river; at the end of 49 days, from leaving the ship, according to the Carpenter's account (but Larey says he had lost his knotted stick 10 days before), Captain Talbot's servant Isaac, who had been his coxswain, and Patrick Burn stopped at the river. He swam back and told them to make a catamaran and he would swim it over which he did and brought them across.—T. L.

* River Nye or cK-ly.

Two days after he joined them, the Carpenter, Thomas Page, died and was buried in the sand.—T. L.

Afterwards he came to another river, where he joined several. Here he eat a piece of dead whale which made him sick; from hence he went back seven days by himself and met James Sims,* John Brown and Edward Croaker; John Blain was lying dead in a hut: he proposed to go back to the natives; Brown was not able to come, but he and the other two went back to the river where he had met the Carpenter; then his companions would go no farther; he swam across at low water; next morning he saw two of the natives on the seaside; they seemed travelling; they looked at him and pointed to go along with them, but they were going another way, *i.e.*, to the westward; the same afternoon he saw three girls on the shores, they took him home about 1 or $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile from the coast; the men were boiling meat; they all came round him; he made signs for something to eat; they gave him a little milk, but took his muscles [mussels] from him, and afterwards drove him away, throwing stones at him; he went to another Krawl about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile distant and they gave him some milk; he stayed there all the night under the trees, and the next morning went to another Krawl, and then came back to the first Krawl and found there Francisco Feancon and S. Paro, who had come through the country, and not along the coast; they stayed at that Krawl and he went to another about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile from the first Krawl, and stayed with the Coffrees three months, taking care of their calves and gathering wood.

When he had been about three weeks with the Coffrees, William Hubberly, Mr. Shaw's servant, came there; he told them all his companions were dead: Mr. Williams was driven into a river and killed by the natives throwing stones on him; Mr. Taylor would eat none after, and in two days died. About 16 or 18 days after Hubberly came, Feancon and Paro left the huts; after a month's absence Feancon returned and told him that Paro was dead, also Thomson the midshipman. Parker and Burne were dead: the boy, from the information of De Larso, who went in quest of the wreck • says that Feancon and Paro had come within three days' journey of the Dutch farms, when they returned Feancon was nine days in the desert without water but his own urine, and then Paro died.

The Hottentots sent by Daniel King from the *Dutch Farms Swarthops*, brought them through the country, and on the 15th January, 1783, 10 or 11 days after setting out from the Krawl, he met at *Sondags River*, the waggons going towards the wreck, with Jeremiah Evans and Francisco De Larso, who had been twenty-eight days from *Landross van Swellendam*, they

* Qu. James Simpson?

wanted him to have returned with them, but he would not, thinking he had already suffered enough.—T. L.

He, Lewis, stayed at Kat Skypers house at *Swarthops* two months ; near it is the first house belonging to Christian Feroos, to which John Potosé brought the others who had travelled along the coast, and in the neighbourhood is Daniel King's, a Hanoverian, with whom the boy remained.—T. L.

The Dutch and Coffrees are on bad terms, Dan King had all his cattle carried off by them not long ago.—T. L.

The Lascars and Mrs. Hosea's maid left them at first ; Mrs. Logie's maid told him the Captain had left Mr. and Mrs. Logie and Mr. and Mrs. Hosea behind. The Lascars and black maids were left at *Landross van Swellendam*, was ten days at the CAPE, and sailed from thence the 7th May, in the Danish ship the *King of Denmark*.

Captain Miller, the captain of the waggons who went in quest of the wreck, took a slave, who had run away from THE CAPE and made him fast to the wagon, but he got away in the night, he supposes this was the Portuguese.* —T. L.

The Governor of the Cape has sent again in quest of the people ; Dan King goes himself and carries precepts of copper, brass and beads for the Coffrees.—T. L.

When the party, with which John Warmington, first came into the *sandy country*, only eight of the party remained together ; they had not then overtaken any of the party in which the boy and Larey were.—W.

Three weeks or a month after entering the *sandy country*, they came to a *salt water river* too deep to wade, at this time only four of the eight remained together, *vis.*, Warmington, Fruel, Fitzgerald and Hynes, but they had overtaken Lillburne with Master Law, Auld the cooper, and Jeremiah Evans, and at this river they came up with the boy, Larey, De Larso, the Armourer, William Couch, Simmons and Schultz, there are three or four small rivers between it and *Great Visch River*.

Having now traced the others, the boy's account of his party will follow without interruption.

"Some of the natives whom they met on the seaside, put a lance and nobby stick into his hand by way of making friends, and took him by the arm, wanting him to go with them, but he began to cry and William Couch, who was his comrade, helping one another ever since the wreck and the others also fell a-crying, whereupon the natives let him go ; this was in the

* The boy says : " De Larso never told him it was the Portuguese they had seen, there was found with him a gun stolen from one of Daniel King's men."

second inhabited country after leaving the Portuguese, he thinks these were the last Coffrees they saw.

"After coming into the *sandy country* they saw no natives ; the *sandy country* is sand hills, so loose that they could not go over them, and only could travel at low water when the sea ebbed and made it hard ; they found rocks scattered on the shore in many places, and one rocky part to the sea, which they could only pass at low water ; but luckily they came to it at low water.

"At this rocky place they saw some pieces of wood with nails in it, and afterwards a Dutch boat cast on the shoal, Warmington who followed found a knife in this boat, they also saw on the shore an old rotten mast, and not long after they passed the *Great Visch River* they saw a small old top-gallant mast in a *fresh water creek*.

"He learned the name of *that river* and of the others afterwards from De Larso who returned with the Dutch party.

"A little before they came to the *Great Visch River*, which was in sight from a rising ground, they passed a little galley, where they were called to by Paddy Burne, Mr. Lillburne and Thomas Lewis, and Squires were there ; the Carpenter then dead and buried at that place.

"*Great Visch River* is very broad, at high water" like the sea, * "but narrow at low ;" it has flat sands at the mouth and some black rocks on this side.† De Larso was almost drowned by the eddy tide in swimming across, the others passed in catamarans made of rotten wood and stumps of trees brought down by the rivers and thrown up, which were tied with their handkerchiefs and roots that grew on the sand twisted together, they waded and guided the catamarans round the sand banks till they came to the narrow deep part ; he, Larey and the Armourer were left behind the first day, their catamarans having gone across the river without them. Couch, Schultz and Simmonds passed over at that time, they staid that night and passed *Great Visch River* next morning ; Mr. Lillburne staid to sleep there that night intending to go back to a whale ; with him remained Master Law, Warmington, French, Fitzgerald, Hynes and Evans who crossed the river afterwards, and the following who did not cross the river, *viz.*, P. Burne, G. Creighton, J. Squires and Isaac, Captain Talbot's Coxswain, together with one of the Lascars who is arrived at the CAPE ; the Lascar said it was a great way to the Cape and that he would go back to look for the natives.

"Those who had gone over the *Great Visch River* found a porpoise left amongst the rocks, Francisco De Larso caught hold of his tail and it splashed him all over, but he at last stuck it with his knife, which he brought with him to *Landross* and gave to Mrs. Logie's maid.

"They continued on, after having stopped at the fresh-water creek where the topgallant mast was seen, till they came to a pond where was fresh water, and there stopped: they went up a steep sandy hill and staid in a fine jungle a-top of the hill, where they made a fire.

"When he and his companions crossed *Great Visch River* they followed the others by their track and called out when they saw the tracks striking up from the shore, when William Couch answered; it was dark, and they joined a-top of the hill.

"After coming up with them they were five or six days before they passed *Boschiemans' river* and afterwards came to a *great bay* in the *sandy country* with *three islands* [they are small, white and round, the furthest about 4 or 5 miles off shoar,] there is not much surf in this bay, *Sondag's river* falls into it.—W. & L.

"Only five of the party remained together when they came to this Bay, *viz.*, De Larso, Larey, William Couch, the Armourer and himself (Robert Price). Here William Couch died: they buried him, and said prayers over him, shook hands, and swore they would never separate till they got into a Christian country. At this Bay they were overtaken by John Hynes and Jeremiah Evans, who told them that Warmington was left behind almost dead, Larey went and brought him back.

"By this time they had found Sand Creepers, which are a kind of Cockles that hide in the sand: so that they had plenty of victuals when joined by Hynes and Evans. The Armourer went back with Evans to look for Mr. Lillburne, Fitzgerald and others, but never returned; losing his life to save his comrades. Evans returned the same night.

"After leaving *Sondag's river* they came to a creek called *Kuga* and then to *Swartkops river*, which is salt water, and from the tops of the hills could see the Islands in the Bay of *Sondag's river*. When he was alone on a sandhill gathering Hottentot figs, De Larso having laid down to sleep under a bush near him, he saw a man, whom at first he took for one of his companions, but on seeing a gun on his shoulder, immediately ran to him as fast as he could, which was not fast, his legs being swelled, and fell down at his feet for joy! and then called to De Larso, who spoke Portuguese.

"Their companions were below by a Whale at the seaside, as they intended to stop three days here, but when they were called, this man, named *John Potosé*, carried them to the house of *Christian Feroos* with whom he seemed to be partner. They all remained there three days, and three days more at another house in the neighbourhood belonging to Daniel Konig. Then five were sent to *Landross Van Swellendam*; he, Robert Price, remaining at the second house near *Swartkops river*. From *Landross Van Swellendam*, Warmington and Larey were sent to the CAPE: Hynes remained at *Landross*

and Evans and De Larso came back to *Swartkops*, with 30 or 40 waggons and horses, with tents, and about 100 people under Captain Miller, intended to go to the wreck in quest of more of the people who were saved.

"Evans and De Larso went on with the party; they got within five days' journey of the wreck, but came back, their horses being tired," and the Mambookers opposing them, they left the waggons at the river Nye or cK-ly which is a very large river full of great stones, and has a rapid stream, it is near the *Bambos Berg* and is fresh water; in their journey from the wreck they were obliged to go up it three days before they could cross, on account of the great stones; the country is inhabited on both sides.

"He (Robert Price) remained near *Swartkops* till the waggons and people returned, they were absent from *Swartkops* at least a month, and had been within a day's journey of where they were robbed, but never went to the wreck, nor had tokens of the Ladies or Captain, except they saw in a Coffree house, a great coat which they thought was the Captain's; in their journey they saw several dead bodies.

"De Larso came from *THE CAPE* in the same ship with Robert Price, (*vis* Laurwig Captain Stainbeck) and is gone to *Denmark*: in the same ship came also William Hubberly, the second mate's servant and Francisco Feancon who had remained with the Coffrees, and were brought from thence by the Hottentots, at the same time with Lewis, these are also gone to *Denmark*. Evans stayed at *THE CAPE* intending to be a farmer, but he will soon be home when he hears of peace, as he was very much afraid of being pressed."

"Although they saw no farms till they came to *Swartkops* there are some beyond it; but none near the sea coast. He remained with *Daniel Konig* at *Swartkops*, three or four months, and used to go a-hunting with them; they set out in the morning and reached *Sondag's river* before night, and there stayed to hunt:—plenty of Elans, white and brown which go in great droves, always with the wind, *Hart-Beesten*, Buffaloes, etc.

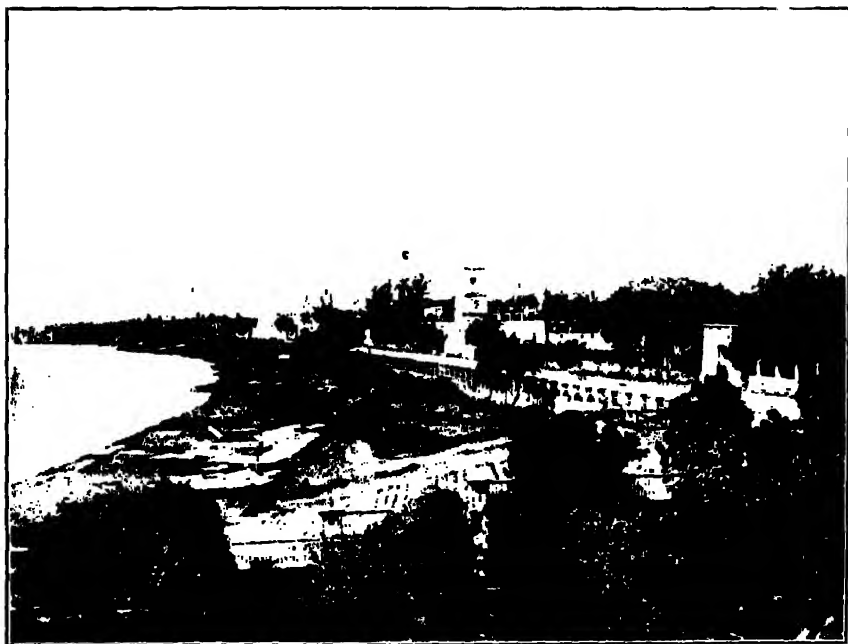
"He cannot of his knowledge say any one is dead but William Couch. He cannot recollect how long they were from *Swartkops* to *Landress*, they were so happy to get a waggon to ride, that time passed quickly away, and they stayed three days at Captain Miller's.

"The natives make a fire by rubbing sticks somehow. The women are clothed in long skins down from the shoulder to the knee, dressed very soft. To make butter, they put milk in a leather bag and let it get sour, and then tie a string to the bag haul it up and down over a branch of a tree till butter is made."

* Lewis says, he is sent to *Batavia* as the Governor of *THE CAPE*, would not permit him to settle in the country as a farmer.



AL DUPLEIN, CHANDERNAGORE, IN 1860, LOOKING NORTH
(Photo. by T. Oshme.)



GRANDS ESCALONS DU BORD DU GANGE, 1870, 10
(Photo. by T. Oshme.)

Echoes from Old Chandernagore.



THE visit of the Calcutta Historical Society to Chandernagore has given a decided impetus to archæological research in that place and some interesting finds have come to light. The most important, of course, was the "discovery" of the indispensable "oldest inhabitant" in the person of Mr. E. Holguette grandson of an officer in the French Company of H. H. Nizam Ali of Hyderabad. By dint of appealing to his memory—a particularly lively one, and ransacking the registers of the "Etat Civil" which go back to the year 1690, it has been possible to glean the following particulars.

MRS. WATTS.

The first object of interest is a house (now in ruins) situated west of the "Rue de Paris," at its intersection with the "Rue des Grands Escaliers," to which local tradition has given the name of "Watts Barakana" (Watts' residence), from the fact that it was, for a short time, in 1756, the residence of Mrs. Frances Watts, wife of William Watts, Chief of the English factory at Cossimbazar, and afterwards celebrated as the "Begum Johnson." After the capture of Calcutta, the Soubha Siraj-ud-Dowla kept Mr. Watts and his family in durance vile at Moorshedabad; but, through the favour of the Begum, the Nawab's mother, with whom she found an asylum, Mrs. Watts obtained safe conveyance by water to Chandernagore, where, in the words of the *Bengal Obituary*, "she was received with all hospitality and attention by Mr. Lauss (*sic*) the French Governor." The name of the Governor, by the way, was not Lauss (presumably meant for Jean Law) but Pierre Mathieu Renault de St. Germain.

Another interesting locality is that known as "Chowdhuripara," being the continuation of "Rue Desbassyns de Richemont," to the west of "Rue de Paris," called after an eminent Indian family of that name whose ancestor, Indra Narain Chowdhuri, "Dewan" of the French Settlement, built a little temple near his residence. Quite apart from its historical associations, this temple merits attention from the wealth and delicacy of its carving.

THE WERLÉES.

The name of most popular interest in Chandernagore is, of course, that of Werlé, but a diligent search among the old registers has yielded no information directly connected with the most famous bearer of that name—Noël Catherine, Mme. Grand. Her father, Pierre Jean Werlée[or Varlet], was

a "Lieutenant de Frégate," the son of Adam Werlée, a native of Port Louis, and Marie Bodeveuc; and in 1744, at the age of 23, he married Marguerite da Silva, who was aged 14.

Pierre Jean Werlée was a Master Pilot of the Ganges down to 1753. For many years after this date he was absent from Chandernagore; and, in the interval, his spouse Marguerite da Silva died, and he remarried Laurencia Oleigne* (or Alen). By his first marriage he had issue:

- (1) Marie Anne François Xavier, b. 5th July 1746. Married to Mr. Michel Nicolas de Calnois, "Greffier en chef du Conseil Provincial." A daughter of this marriage, Modeste Victorine Nicolas, was the *second wife* of Jean Mathieu Reine Michelet, and died in 1801, aged 17, leaving an infant daughter, who survived her about a month.
- (2) Louis Adam, b. 28th November 1748.
- (3) Marguerite, b. 14th July 1752.
- (4) Antonie, b. 17th December 1753.

It was during his long absence from Chandernagore that, on the 21st November 1762, at Tranquebar, Pierre Werlée's daughter by his second marriage, Noël Catherine, was born. He re-appears in Chandernagore in 1766 as "Capitaine du Port," his son Jean Xavier being born on the 20th September of that year. This son became a Chevalier de la Legion d'Honneur and the proprietor of a flourishing Indigo concern at Harrah in the Nuddea district. He married Louise Marie Lacheney, daughter of Louis Lacheney, a factor of the Company and Chief of the factory at Cossimbazar. Jean Xavier was evidently a good Churchman, for in 1808, he was "Marguillier" of the Church of St. Louis; he died at Harrah in 1826, and his body was brought to Chandernagore for interment. His wife had died seven years earlier; and he left a son, Jean Pierre Xavier Cheri, who in 1819 was married to Mdle. Palmire, daughter of Captain Pierre Paul Darrac, Chief of the French "loges" at Dacca and Jagdea. In 1844 the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Paris, communicated to the "Etat Civil" of Chandernagore the news of the death on the 1st September at 15, Rue Aile St. Louis, of Mr. Xavier Werlée, æt. 23, a student in the College of Mines and a native of Chandernagore. This young man was probably a son of Jean Xavier Werlée.

Tradition assigns the residence of the Werlée family to the house in Rue Carnot (formerly Rue Neuve) now owned by Mr. I. Lehuraux.

JESUITS AND CAPUCHINS.

The present Convent of the Immaculate Conception (under the Sisters of St. Joseph de Cluny) and the adjacent Chapel were the scene of missionary

* Dastoeed refers to her as Allancy.

efforts in Bengal which go back almost to the origin of the early French Settlements.

In virtue of a contract between the French Company of the Indies and Dom Jose Pinheiro, Bishop of San Thomé, the missions of French India were divided between the Capuchins and the Society of Jesus, the former ministering to the European settlers (as at Pondicherry) and the latter the native converts; but the Jesuits formed the sole parochial clergy of the factory at Chandernagore called the "Paroisse de Notre Dame." A branch of Italian Capuchins belonging to the Thibet Mission, under a Vicar Apostolic at Agra, were also settled in the "loge" where they established a foundling-hospital. This "hospice des enfants trouvés" mentioned as "situé sur le ghât," i.e., on the present Quai Dupleix, is now the Convent of the Immaculate Conception. The earliest reference to it is in 1694; the date inscribed on the door of the chapel being 1720.

Early in 1731, relations became strained between the Council at Chandernagore and their Jesuit pastors. The former, jealous of the supremacy of the Padroado, favoured the appointment of French Capuchins under their own Prefect Apostolic at Pondicherry, while the French Jesuits, the "de facto" clergy, deferred to the authority of the "Proviseur" (Superior General) of the Diocese of St. Thomé resident at Golgotha (Hooghly), and refused to make the Chapel of Fort d'Orleans the parish church of the "loge." As a result, Fathers Boudier and Pons were dismissed ("chassés de la loge") and an Italian Capuchin Dom Albert Saldeim was appointed Almoner. But the banished clergy were soon reinstated, doubtless through the good offices of Guillaume Guillaudeau ("a remarkable benefactor of the Church of Chandernagore and of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus," as his memorial tablet records); and in 1733, we find Pere Boudier officiating at the baptism of the eldest son of Councillor Pierre Renault de St. Germain, with Mr. Dupleix as sponsor. This son, Pierre Renault afterwards "Capitaine au Bataillon de l'Inde," fought under his father during the attack on Chandernagore by Clive and Watson in 1757, and signed the treaty of surrender.

A letter from the correspondent of the *Calcutta Christian Herald* published in the *Friend of India*, of 14th November 1844, states: "In 1753, four Jesuits resided as missionaries at Chandernagore; they had an hospital which sometimes accommodated three hundred patients as also an orphan refuge in which were 105 girls who received a religious training; they had been purchased from their parents who sold them out of distress." The hospital here referred to was probably the "Hospital National" in charge of the Jesuits, which was afterwards served by Thomas Lucas, René Michelet, Hervé Dubois and M. Gauv'n. It is not to be confounded with the "hospice" of the Capuchins above-mentioned. The Jesuits also had a flourishing

College at "Bandel d'Ougly" (*sic*) of which the R. P. George Delterman, a German, was Rector in 1739 when he officiated, at the church of St. Louis, Chandernagore, at the marriage of M. Jean Baptiste de Mondesert of the Council, with Catherine Butbeg, widow of Nicolas Gordinho, a native of Chinchuras (*sic*). It was in the Jesuit Parochial house at Chandernagore that the Rev. Dom Francisco Lainez, the saintly Bishop of San Thomé (successor of Blessed John de Britto) resided in 1714, on his memorable pastoral tour, which ended so fatally at the college of the Portuguese Jesuits at Bandel, where he died on the 11th June 1715.*

In 1764, on the suppression of the Society of Jesus in France by Louis XV and the transference of their missions in French India to the "Missions Etrangères," the members of the exiled order in Chandernagore were affiliated to the foreign missions and continued in charge of the Parish, now styled "Paroisse de St. Louis." In 1778 they were Nicholas Possevin, Jean Garofallo, Antoine Garret, and a certain Père Broquet who appears to have instructed boys in pilotage. The faithful Father Possevin had for the past 30 years followed the vicissitudes of the colony. He had seen the heyday of its prosperity, the humiliations of the siege, the sad days at Fredericksnagar, and the return of the inhabitants to their old homes in 1762. In December 1778, he and his companions left Chandernagore; and the Rev. Joseph François, Capuchin, took formal possession of the "Cure."

With the outbreak of the French Revolution all religious were secularised. On the 14th June 1828 the parishes of Pondicherry and Chandernagore were transferred to the Congregation of the Holy Ghost, but for many years Chandernagore was without any resident priest.

The Italian monks meantime had continued their good work of providing an asylum for the poor as well as an hospital for young children, sold by their parents in the great famine of 1770, whose death roll forms a melancholy chapter in the history of the settlement.

The Capuchin establishment was also an almshouse; and among those who resided or died there may be mentioned Padre Marco della Tomba (between 1756 and 1773), the author of an "Historical and Geographical Account of India," of which an Italian edition was published in Florence in 1878; Pierre Elizabeth Latour (1815) buried in the verandah of the Chapel, Jerome Piaggio (1819) and Fra Angelo (1830).

Towards the beginning of the last century, the intrepid sons of St. Francis of Assisi, who, some fifty years earlier, had penetrated as far as Lhasa, where they founded a convent, gradually abandoned all attempt at the evangelisation of Thibet, which they found beyond their resources; and

* "Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses écrites des Missions étrangères," Paris 1781.



CHAPEL AND CONVENT OF THE SISTERS OF ST. JOSEPH DE CLUNY.

(Photo by T. Ochsm.)

in 1846, at the request of Mgr. Borghi, Vicar-Apostolic of Agra, the Thibetan Mission was made over to the "Missions Etrangères."* In consequence, the Hospice at Chandernagore had for years remained untenanted. In 1842, the indefatigable Dr. P. J. Carew, Vicar-Apostolic of Bengal, who had just been instrumental in bringing to Calcutta the first batch of nuns of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin from Loretto Abbey, Rathfarnham, established a branch of that institution at Chandernagore, and for that purpose took over the old Hospice. The gateway of the Chapel to this day bears the inscription : "Deo et Beat. Mar. Virg. Lauretanæ." On the 16th May 1842, Bishop Carew visited Chandernagore, where he was received with the pealing of bells and a salvo of guns, and entertained by the Governor, Mr. de St. Hilaire, who entered "his engaging little daughter" as the first pupil of the new Convent. The school was opened on the 1st August, 1842, mainly through the generous exertions of M. Joseph Paul, St. Pourçain, and was soon crowded with pupils. Two adjacent houses were also rented and the Catholic male and female orphanages, languishing at Moorgheehatta, Calcutta, transferred there. In 1847, consequent on the changes resulting from the recall of the English Jesuits from Calcutta, Dr. Carew withdrew the boarding school and orphanages from Chandernagore and established them at Entally, Calcutta.

In the sixties of the last century, the "Hospice" was known as Nielly's hotel, the "Patron" (a former "Capitaine au long cours") being the nephew of Joseph Marie Admiral Baron Nielly, Chevalier of St. Louis, who, in the second year of the French Republic, captured the British Frigate *Alexander* in a naval combat in the Channel, and commanded the squadron which conveyed General Hoche to Bantry Bay on his ill-starred invasion of Ireland. In 1867, the main building of the Capuchin hospital was purchased from the owners by M. Alfred Courjon and bestowed "on the Town of Chandernagore to serve in perpetuity for the education of girls under the direction of a Community of Religious of the Roman Catholic faith." The Chapel, dissociated from the old hospital, was put to profane uses, having been alternately a dwelling house and a storehouse for hams, wine and groceries. It was ultimately purchased by the late Mrs. Gonsalves of Serampur, who, in 1870, bestowed it on the Community of French nuns who had just opened a convent in the adjacent building.

A PRISONER OF THE "BASTILLE."

To conclude this somewhat lengthy account of matters ecclesiastical at Chandernagore it is worth while recalling an incident which caused

* "Le Thibet d'après la Correspondance des Missiennaires." C. H. Desgodins.

considerable stir in Calcutta of the forties. In 1840, there being no resident Curé in the French Settlement, Dr. Taberd, Vicar-Apostolic of Bengal (well-known as the author of a Cochin-Chinese Dictionary), directed the Rev. Andrew O'Sullivan, R. C. Chaplain to the troops at Chinsurah, to attend to the wants of the Catholics of Chandernagore. About the 11th June, the Reverend Gentleman, on one of his periodic visits there, was entrusted by the Supreme Court at Calcutta with the distribution of the Claud Martin Charity, amounting to some 700 rupees, to the poor of Chandernagore. He proceeded to the Church of St. Louis and out of courtesy invited one of the Magistrates to be present at the distribution of the alms. The Magistrate came, but to the surprise of the Priest requested him in the name of the acting Governor, Mr. A. Bourgoïn, to hand over all the money in his possession. This Father O'Sullivan very properly refused to do, and, in consequence, to quote the words of the *Bengal Harkaru*, "his almirah was sealed up, his buggy and pony taken away, and he himself left to repent of his contumacy in a damp prison." Whatever explanation the Governor may have had for his high-handed proceeding, great was the wrath of the Calcutta Press at the summary treatment meted out to a British subject in the discharge of a trust imposed upon him by the Supreme Court. Loud and deep were the thunders of the great Stocqueler, mordant the sarcasms of the *Harkaru*, and plaintive the bleating of the *Bengal Catholic Expositor*. The *Englishman*, indeed, suggested that the friends of the imprisoned Curé should collect a body of seamen from the ships in the river, arm them "after a fashion" and lead them to the assault of the Chandernagore Bastille; a proceeding which the *Harkaru* characterised as "a summary process of *Habeas Corpus* to be served on the Jail of Chandernagore . . . not out of a Court of Star-Chamber, but, as the Eastern luminary would say, a Court of *Tar-Chamber*." The position of the captive Pastor was indeed sufficiently serious, and it is on record that he contracted a severe cold and hoarseness in his "damp residence." Mgr. Pezzoni, late Bishop of Agra, then at Chandernagore, and the kindhearted Mons. Joseph St. Pourçain did all that lay in their power to alleviate his captivity; but higher powers had been invoked. The Governor-General, Lord Auckland, himself intervened and requested Mr. Barlow, the Judge of Hooghly, to wait on Mr. Bourgoïn and demand the liberation of his prisoner and the restoration of his money and other possessions. With this demand the Administrator saw fit to comply; and after more than a week's incarceration "in a damp dungeon with the thermometer at 100 Fah.," the aged but intrepid clergyman was set at liberty in the presence of Mr. Barlow, who conveyed him back to Chinsurah in his own carriage. It is but fair to add that H. E. the Governor of Pondicherry,

Chevalier du Camper, who had been appealed to in the circumstances, condemned *in toto* the proceedings of his subordinate and sent peremptory orders for the release of Mr. O'Sullivan.

The present Church of the Sacred Heart was begun in 1875, under the auspices of Rev. Father Barthet of the Congregation of the "Saint Esprit." The funds for its erection were obtained from public lotteries sanctioned by the Government, who also made a money grant. The labours incidental to the raising of funds and the erection of the building, which occupied nine years, devolved mainly on Father Barthet, and Brother Joachim of the same order, who was his Superintendent of Works. It was solemnly consecrated, on the 27th January 1884, by the late Archbishop of Calcutta, Dr. Paul Goëthals, S. J., assisted by Monseigneur Corbet, Vicar-Apostolic of French India, and a great concourse of the clergy. The late Father Lafont preached the inaugural sermon.

No mention of this handsome church would be complete without a reference to its founder, whose self-denying labours are still remembered with gratitude in Chandernagore. Magloire Barthet came out to India in 1862. He became Curé of Chandernagore in 1864 and occupied that post till 1888 when, in consequence of the establishment of the hierarchy, the Congregation of the St. Esprit were recalled by Pope Leo XIII to other fields. During his long connection with the parish he had seen a new generation spring up, whose feelings for him were those of veneration. He was a man of large sympathy, and the regard he inspired was shared by the Indian population among whom he laboured. Besides the Church, he founded a school (Ste. Marie), which has since become the College Dupleix. Shortly after his retirement from India he was raised to the Episcopate; and his many admirers will be glad to learn that he still survives.

OLD ST. LOUIS.

Adjoining the Church of the Sacred Heart, to the north, at the corner of Rue Général Martin (shown at the right of the foreground in the picture), stood the old Church of St. Louis (now in ruins), formerly a salt godown of the French factory. The little Jesuit Church mentioned by Hamilton, which stood to the north of Fort d'Orleans, was demolished in 1757, before the siege, as it interfered with the range of the guns from the Fort. Laurent Garçin in his account of Chandernagore (1726-27) alludes to a "forte jolie petite Eglise" in course of construction alongside the Director's house, evidently within Fort d'Orleans. After the capture of Chandernagore, when peace and order were once more restored, in 1762, the old salt godown was assigned to the Curé and consecrated as a place of worship. The following tablets, which may be seen on the outer gallery south of the present Church

of the Sacred Heart, are those of notable persons who were buried in the Old Church of St. Louis :—

- (1) Mme. Marie-Antoniette Courjon (1849), the mother of the " Prince of Chandernagore."
- (2) Jean Henri Piron (1807), Commandant of the French corps in the service of Hyder Ali
- (3) Guillaume Guillandeu, Councillor (1754). The armorial bearings at the head of this stone display a mailed hand in an oval field crowned with a Coronet. Popular legend among the simple Indian folk, who have their own way of reading a funeral hatchment, explains that the rings on the gauntlets signify that the deceased gentleman died of small-pox.
- (4) Mme. Catharine Ovsy (Crapierre),* wife of Mr. François Daguin de la Blanchetière, Governor of Chandernagore (1729).

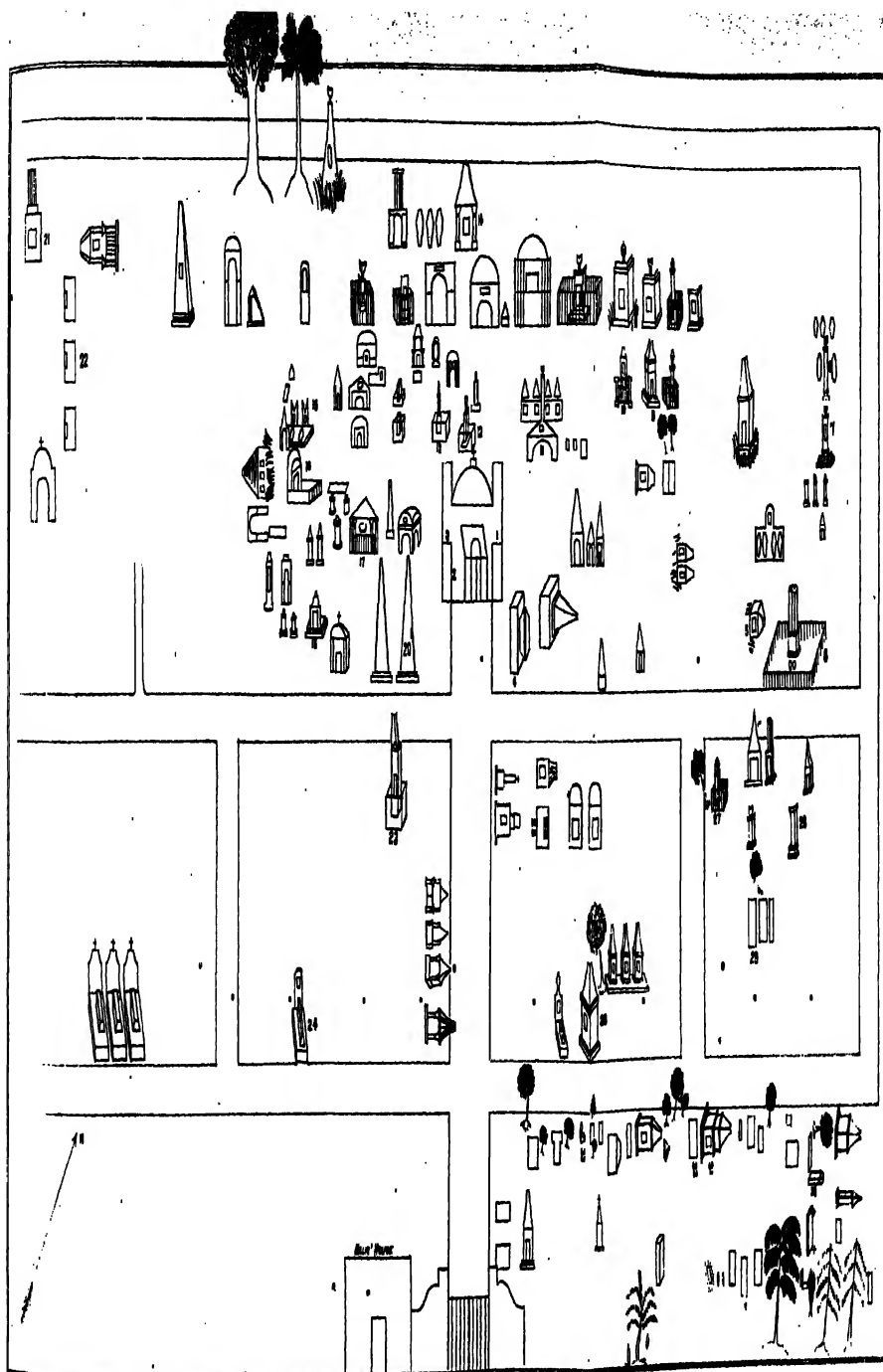
In addition to these, Pierre Renault de St. Germain, Governor of Chandernagore, was buried in the old Church of St. Louis in 1777, as well as an infant daughter of Mr. Jean Baptiste Chevalier, Governor, and Marie Marquise d'Aligny, his wife, born at Ghiretti, 1776, who died immediately after baptism. No stone now commemorates poor Renault.

Besides the Church of the Sacred Heart, and the Convert Chapel, the only other place of Christian worship in Chandernagore is the little Anglican Chapel in Rue Carnot dedicated to St. John the Evangelist, which is under the charge of the Chaplain of Howrah. The foundation stone was laid by Mrs. Barlow on the 15th March 1902, the building licensed on Christmas-day, 1902, and consecrated on the 27th December 1904, by the Rt. Rev. R. S. Copleston, Lord Bishop of Calcutta.

THE CEMETERY.

The plan of the Cemetery at Chandernagore will, it is hoped, prove useful to the curious rambler among the silent monuments of the past. Mention has already been made of Mr. Alfred Courjon, whose public services earned for him the title of Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur from Napoleon III. Besides founding the Convent already alluded to, he bestowed on the Municipality the house which serves as the Mairie, and liberally supported the hospital, established by Dr. Léon Margain, the orphanages, and every work of public utility or private charity. A passing reference may be made to his younger brother, Mr. Eugène Joseph Courjon, created " Maharajah-Prince de Chandernagor," strange to say by the Republican Government of France under M. Jules Grévy. Rumour says that the deceased gentleman, who won a local

* The name is variously spelt Voskitady, Oukstady, Wskitady and Aushy.



Alakhnaya Path.

PLAN OF THE CEMETRY AT CHANDERI, M.P.

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reputation by his lavish entertainments and great musical talents, was largely responsible for the political mission to King Thebaw, which ended disastrously for the emissary of France and led to the conquest of Upper Burma by the English. The following names have been omitted from the "Key to notable graves."

- (1) About the extreme end of the Protestant Section, *left* of the main walk as the visitor enters the gate, lies the grave of Edward Welsh Hollingbery, brother of Robert Heatly Hollingbery, Assistant Secretary to the Government of India, Financial Department. The latter's opinion on matters of revenue and finance were held in the highest esteem by Lord Northbrook, Sir Evelyn Baring (now Lord Cromer), Sir Richard Temple, Mr. R. Barclay Chapman and others; and he was the author of several works of great utility in their day, such as "A Handbook on Gold and Silver" and a work on landlord and tenant. Mr. E. W. Hollingbery married his cousin, a sister of the late Sir George Welsh Kellner, K.C.M.G., C.S.I., also a well-known Anglo-Indian financier.
- (2) In the plot between the graves of the two Hartleys, lies Mr. Joseph Paul Dauman St. Pourçain (1847), "the friend of the poor," a wealthy landowner, and great philanthropist.

NAPOLEON AND CHANDERNAGORE.

The grave of M. Jules de Momet, "the brave soldier of Napoleon," recalls the fact that this is by no means the only connection of Chandernagore with the Man of Destiny. Perhaps the most interesting birth which took place at Ghiretti was that of Jean Guillaume Law de Lauriston in 1766. He was the son of the famous Jean Law de Lauriston, once Chief of Cossimbazar, whose nephew James Alexandre Bernard was a favourite Aide-de-Camp of the first Napoleon, and was made by Louis XVIII a Marshal of France.

A younger branch of the family of Law yet exists at Pondicherry, *viz.*, Law de Clapernou, one member of which was Governor of Chandernagore in 1857.

Extracts from the old Parochial Registers are appended.

MARIAGE.

ANNEE 1741. DUPLEIX (JOSEPH) ET ALBERT (JEANNE) VVE VINCENS.

Le R. P. François de l'Assomption Religieux Augustin Curé de Calcutta et Vicaire de Vara pour le royaume de Bengale, ayant accordé le onze Avril de

cette année la dispense pour l'empêchement de l'affinité spirituelle, et dispense de la publication des bans, Je soussigné Curé de Chandernagor ai le dix-sept du même mois, marié avec les cérémonies prescrites par le rituel romain M. Joseph François Dupleix, écuyer Directeur Général pour la Compagnie de France dans le Royaume de Bengale, Président du Conseil de Chandernagor, nommé Gouverneur des Ville, Citadelle et Ports de Pondichéry, Commandant Général dans l'Inde et Président du Conseil supérieur de Pondichéry, natif de Landrecies, fils de François Dupleix écuyer Seigneur de Bacquencourt et de Merçin Sieur Desgardes Fannevielle La Bruyère &c ecuyer ordinaire de la Grande Ecurie de Sa Majesté, l'ermier Général et Directeur Général de la Compagnie des Indes, et de Dame Anne Louise de Massac, agé de quarante trois ans, avec Madame Jeanne Albert, veuve de M. Jacques Vincens, Conseiller du Conseil Supérieur de Pondichéry, néé a Pondichéry, fille de M. Jacques Théodore Albert, et de Dona Elizabeth Rose de Castro, agée de trente-trois ans: Temoins M. le Chevalier François Schonamille Gouverneur pour Sa Majesté Impériale (sic) à Cassimbazar, M. Jean Albert de Schiterman, Conseiller des Indes et Directeur Général pour la noble Compie. de Hollande à Chinchura et son epouse Madame Sibille Folkera, Mrs du Conseil de Chandernagor, Dona Elizabeth Rosa de Castro, mère de l'épouse; Mesdames Marie Madeleine Albert, veuve Aumont, Suzanne Ursule Albert de St. Paul, Rose Eleonore Albert d'Arboulín, soeurs, et M. M. Nicolas Louis de St. Paul, second du Comptoir de Chandernagor, Louis Carloman d'Arboulín, écuyer, beaux-frères de la dite épouse.

(Signé) Claude Stanislas Boudier, Jésuite Curé.

(Signé) Jeanne Albert, Sibilla Volkera, Schiterman, Geboore Savulyn, G. Guillaudeu, de St. Paul, Ravet, le Chr. de Schonamille, Albert veuve Aumont, Albert d'Arboulín, Renault, Guillaudeu, Dupleix, Desdezerts, d'Haugest, le Chr. Courtin, Finiel.

BAPTÊME.

* 1766. VERLÉE JEAN XAVIER.

Jean Xavier Verlée fils légitime du sieur Pierre Verlée Capitaine du Port de Chandernagor et de dame Laurencia Oleigne son épouse, agé de 6 jours a été baptisé par moi soussigné Curé de Chandernagor le 26 du mois de Septembre 1766: Parrain le sieur Jean La Sonde Mondésert négociant, Marraine Dame Jeanne Gregori de Mondésert son épouse. En foi de quoi j'ai signé.

Signé J. L. Xav. de St. Estevan Curé.

Signé Jeanne Gregori, M. A. F. X. Verlée, Pierre Verlée, Robert Maddiran, Char. Mederburn,

DÉCÈS.

DAME LOUISE MARIE LACHENEY WORLÉE.

Aujourd'hui trois Mars mil huit cent dix neuf à neuf heures du matin, acte de décès de la dame Louise Marie Lacheney Worlée, décédée le deux du présent mois de Mars, à midi dix minutes, âgée de quarante-quatre ans née à Chandernagor et y demeurant rue Neuve, épouse du sieur Jean Xavier Worlée, Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur, Propriétaire.

Sur la déclaration à nous faite par le sieur Jean Baptiste Audebert Chanbon, agent pour le sel, Agé de cinquante-neuf ans, demeurant à Chandernagor, Rue de Paris, et le sieur François Xavier Legou, Assesseur au Tribunal de la Colonie agé de cinquante-huit ans, demeurant à Chandernagor, Rue des Grands Escaliers du bord du Gange. Tous deux ont déclaré être amis de la famille et ont signé, lecture faite.

Constaté par nous Antoine Le Franc, Lieutenant de Police à Chandernagor dans le Bengale, chargé de l'Etat Civil.

Ont signé: F. Legou, J. B. Audebert Chanbon, A. Le Franc, Lieutenant de Police, chargé de l'Etat Civil.

DÉCÈS.

SIEUR JEAN XAVIER VERLÉE.

L'an mil huit cent vingt six, le vingt sixieme jour du mois de Juillet, à midi, par devant nous, Antoine Le Franc, Lieutenant de Police, chargé de l'Etat Civil à Chandernagor, sont comparus le sieur Pierre Paul D'Arrac, Capitaine, Ancien Chef de Loge, Agé de cinquante-quatre ans, demeurant Rue Neuve, et le sieur Jean Charles Audebert Chanbon, propriétaire, Agé de soixante-quatre ans, demeurant Rue de Paris, tous deux habitants de cette ville; Lesquels nous ont déclaré, que le vingt-quatre du présent mois de Juillet, à neuf heures du soir, le sieur Jean Xavier Verlée, Chevalier de l'Ordre Royal de la Légion d'Honneur, Propriétaire, agé de cinquante-neuf ans, né à Chandernagor, fils légitime de feu Sieur Pierre Verlée, Capitaine de Port à Chandernagor, et de la feue Dame Alen, et veuf de la dame Louise Marie Lacheney, native de Chandernagor, est décédé à son Indigoterie de Harrah, District de Noudia, territoire Anglais, Lequel a été transporté en cette Ville pour y être inhumé. Et les déclarants ont signé avec nous le présent acte de décès après qu'il leur en a été fait lecture.

Ont signé: D'Arrac, Capitane; J. B. Audebert Chanbon; A. Le Franc, Lieutenant de Police, chargé de l'Etat Civil.

BAPTÊME.

1766. LAW DE LORISTON JEAN GUILLAUME.

Jean Guillaume Law de Loriston né le huitième de Septembre de l'année mil sept cent soixante six, ondoïé le dix-huitième du même mois à Garatti, par moi soussigné Curé de Chandernagor avec la permission du R. P. Manuel Grand Vicaire de ce diocèse, a été baptisé solennellement le vingt-et-un Décembre de la même année. Il est fils légitime de Mr. Jean Law de Loriston, Colonel d'Infanterie Commissaire du Roy dans les Indes Orientales, Général de toutes les concessions françaises, Gouverneur de Pondichéry, Président du Conseil Souverain actuellement résidant à Chandernagor et de tous les Conseils particuliers de l'Inde française, Chevalier de l'ordre royal militaire de St. Louis, et de dame Jeanne Law Carvalho son épouse. Parrain a été Mr. Jean Chevalier Conseiller des Indes et du Conseil Souverain actuellement à Chandernagor. Marraine Dame Catherine Floyer Carvalho, épouse de Mr. Charles Floyer Conseiller du Conseil de Calcutta, tante de l'enfant. En foi de quoi j'ai signé. Ont été témoins Messrs. Charles Floyer, Jean Baptiste Chevalier, Catherine Floyer Lewis, Marie Grant, Galliot Nicolas, Delaselle, Carvalho, Law de Loriston, Renault, Louis Carvalho, F. Nicolas.

Signé: L. Xav. de St. Estevan Curé

In compiling the above notes, valuable assistance has been received from Rev. Fr. A. Delaunoy, S. J., Rev. Fr. A. Van de Mergel, S. J., Mr. I. Lehuraux and Mr. E. W. Madge of the Imperial Library.

A. LX.

KEY TO NOTABLE GRAVES IN THE CHANDERNAGORE CEMETERY.

TABLETS IN CHAPEL.

1. Louise Marie Werlée née Lacheney, 1819.
2. Jean Xavier Werlée, 1826 ...
3. Mrs. Thos. Savi, 1826. Aet 17½ years, born at Madras.

NOTES.

- Daughter of Louis Lacheney described as "Négociant" and "Sous Marchand de la Compagnie;" once Chief of the Factory at Cosimbazar, obit. 1780; and wife of Jean X. Werlée.
- Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur. Described as "Propriétaire." Son of Pierre Jean Werlée, Lieut. de Frégate and Capitaine de Port, and Dame Laurencia Oleigne (Aleo), Brother of Noël Catherine Werlée (Mrs. Grand) afterwards Princesse de Talleyrand-Périgord.
- Charlotte Fanny, wife of Thomas Savi "Indigotier," and daughter of Paul Frederic de Caselli, Captain in the "Régiment de Meuron", and of Pétronille de Meuron who married for the second time Joseph François Doyot "Intendant General" of the French possessions in Bengal (died 1821).

MONUMENTS.

4. Master George Nelson, 1800 The earliest English surname.
 5. Jerome Piaggio, 1819 ... Mahratta officer. "Pensionnaire de l'honorable Compagnie Anglaise."
 6. Amenaïde de Chéron, 1828,
Aet 18½ years. Amenaïde Appoline d'Embrun d'Arbeilles dau. of
Achille Appolonius d'Embrun d'Arbeilles
"Propriétaire" and of Anne Victoire Berse;
wife of Jean Baptiste Louis Chéron, "Ex-
aspirant de la Marine de 1re Classe" (middy),
"Propriétaire a Kourabari District de Noudia."
 7. Jean Baptiste Audebert "Agent pour le sel."
Chanbon, 1842.
 8. Jean Charles Audebert 'Propriétaire Chef de Chaupour et Assesseur
Chanbon, 1827. au Tribunal de la Cacherie."
- The above two were sons of Jean Baptiste Edme Audebert Chanbon, described as
"Marchand Particulier et Subrecargue des Vaisseaux de l'Inde" (supercargo), by his
marriage with Marie Jeanne Xavier Renault (obit 1811), daughter of Pierre Mathieu Renault
de St. Germain, Directeur-General of Chandernagore in 1755. A daughter of J. B. Edme
Audebert Chanbon, Anne Elizabeth, married (1779) François Emmanuel Desbats de Montigny,
Governor of Chandernagore in 1789. The five nameless graves surrounding 7 and 8 are
doubtless of members of this family.
9. Felix Neil, 1838 ... Acting Administrator.
 10. Mme. Ravier, 1822 ... Jeanne Nicole Valentin de Serpe, wife of François
Ravier Chef de Service of Chandernagore.
 11. Jean Mathieu René Michelet, "Chirurgien Major de cette Colonie" and "Presi-
1807. dent du Tribunal de Justice." He was *twice*
married. 1st to Sophie Brigitte de Ranger
who died 1786 at 28 leaving a son Jean
Charles, born 1778. 2nd to Modeste Victoire
Nicolas de Calnois who died 1801, at 17.
This lady's mother was Marie Françoise
Xavier Werlé, daughter of old Pierre Jean
Werlé by his first wife, Marguerite da Silva.
 12. Eugène Joseph Courjon, 1896 "Maharajah-Prince de Chandernagor," a well known
Zemindar of E. Bengal.
 13. Charles Alfred Courjon, 1875 Chevalier de La Légion d'Honneur, elder brother of
the preceding; a well known Zemindar of East
Bengal and a great benefactor of Chan-
dernagore.
 14. Auguste Germain Bourgoin, Son of Etienne Bourgoin (obit 1820) Chevalier
1845. de St. Louis et de la Légion d'Honneur, Chief of
the loge of Cossimbazar. Auguste Germain
was "Commis Principal de la Marine" and
Acting Administrator in 1838.
 15. Adolphe Philibert du Bois Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur, etc., Chef de
de Jancigny, 1860. Service of Chandernagore. Former Aide-de-
Camp to the King of Oudé; a Savant Orien-
talist.

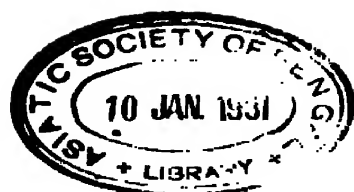
16. Fidel Amand Blouet, 1804 ... Sous-Lieutenant de la Marine and Capitaine du Port.
17. Joseph Paul Daumain St. Pourçain, 1847. Sous-Commissaire de la Marine; Acting Chef de Service of Chandernagore.
18. Mme. St. Croix, 1845 ... Louise Rose Dubois daughter of Hervé Dubois "Chirurgien de l'Hôpital;" wife of Louis Auguste Nègre de St. Croix "ancien Capitaine de Vaisseau" and Merchant.
19. Mme Michel Durup de Dombal, 1826. Catherine Charlotte Dubois also daughter of Hervé Dubois and wife of Michel Durup de Dombal (obit 1820) "Capitaine d'Infanterie au Régiment de Pondichéry."
20. Jacques Maximine De Verinne, 1801. "Ancien Agent de la Compagnie des Indes. Procureur du Roi."

The tall coneshaped monument alongside is presumably that of the wife of the preceding Catherine de [la] Touche (obit. 1805) daughter of M. Louis Galliot de la Touche, "Capitaine" de la quèche le "Saint Louis" and in 1733 Capitaine du Port at Pondicherry.

21. Joseph DaCosta senior, 1830 Of Patna city.
22. François Desgranges, 1827. "Rentier," son of Jean Baptiste Lemesle Desgranges, Chief of the "loges" of Dacca and Jagdaa.
23. Léon Margain, 1881 ... Chief Surgeon of the Colony of Chandernagore and founder of the "Hospice Hôpital Margain."
24. Alexis François Antoine Tardivel, 1858. Merchant.
25. Louisa Cecilia Hartley, 1839 Wife of Mr. Bartholomew Hartley junr.
26. Mrs. Eliza Hartley, 1836 ... Relict of Bartholomew Hartley, Esq., of the Hon. E. I. Company's Medical Service-

The interest attaching to the above graves 25 and 26 lies in the supposed connection of the Hartley family with the well known letters of "Miss Goldborne" called "Hartly House, Calcutta" and the prominent part taken by Dr. Hartley in the building of St. John's Church, Calcutta.

27. Jules de Momet, 1862 ... "A brave soldier of the 1st Napoleon."
28. Mrs. Caroline Hawkesworth, 1837. Wife of Samuel Hawkesworth, Esq., of Calcutta. Possibly related to the Compiler of the E. I. Chronologist.
29. Henry Piddington, 1858 ... Author of the "Law of Storms."
30. Robert Bland ... For 18 years Chaplain of Gowhatti.
31. Jas. Alexander Cossard de Terraneau. Descendant of M. Etienne Charles Cossard de Terraneau, Ecuyer, "Officier des Troupes" in 1756.
32. Alice Rattray ... Daughter of Robt. Haldane Rattray, B.C.S.
33. Major Walter Key Haalewood. Of the H. E. I. Co.'s and European Regiment (Clarke-ka-Gora) commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel [afterwards Lieutenant-General] Sir Walter Raleigh Gilbert, K.C.B. The small monumental pillar marking the resting-place of this gallant officer was erected by a native cloth-merchant locally known as "Kala Chaud."





PARAKENATH

(Photo by Lt.-Col. W. J. Buchanan, I.M.S)



"WHERE THREE EMPIRES MEET."

Boundary of Nepal, Sikkim, and Bengal, beyond Phalut, 11,800 feet

(Photo by Lt.-Col. W. J. Buchanan, I.M.S.)

General Note-Book.



WE are indebted to Dr. Busteed for a copy of the following inscription taken from a monument in the English Burying Ground on the island, Madras [*i.e.*, St. Mary's Cemetery] :—

" Here lieth interred the body
of

Thomas MADGE, Esq.,
late Major

in the Honorable Company's Service,
who departed this Life

the 8th of November, Anno Domini 1773.

Aged 31.

The stream that winds majestic o'er the plain,
Adorns the prospect and delights the swain ;
If chance the Summer leave its channel dry,
The village mourns its absence with a sigh :
Such sighs, alas ! with anguish fraught prevail'd,
When Life's warm stream in MADGE's bosom fall'd,
No more his course shall friendship's eye pursue,
No more be brightened with the pleasing view !
Here MADGE, thou sleep'st,—where now unconquered reign,
Thy daring spirit, and thy martial vein ?
Ah ! what avails that covetous of Praise,
Thou twind'st the Scholar's with the Soldier's bays !

To the above Mr. K. N. Dhar, B.A., subjoins the following note :—

The monument was subsequently levelled and the inscription embedded in masonry. The inscription is given in Urquhart's *Oriental Obituary* (1809-13). The verses themselves afford a good example of eighteenth-century elegiacs. Major Thomas Madge, mentioned above, was in command of the 12th Madras Sepoy Battalion. His kinsman (nephew ?) Captain Edward Henry Madge of the 9th Foot commanded at Kandy at the opening of the nineteenth century. He is mentioned by Macfarlane, Tennent, Cordiner, Percival, Pridham, and other historians, and in the *Ceylon Gazette* of July 13, 1803, he was accorded the thanks of the Governor (the Hon. Frederick North) "for his gallant defence of Fort Macdowall, and the judicious manner in which he brought off his garrison." Not long after this, however, having libelled a superior officer, he was court-martialled and directed to retire by the sale of his commission (Home Guards Order, dated August 21, 1806). It was, we believe, his aunt (and Major Thomas Madge's sister) Elizabeth

who became Lady Fletcher on her marriage with Colonel Sir Richard Fletcher, Baronet, commanding the Royal Engineers. He had served on Wellington's staff as chief engineer and fell at St. Sebastian (1813). The maiden-name of his wife was misprinted as "Mudge" in *Burke*, but is correctly given in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (Vol. 83, pt. ii, p. 499). The Madges are a Devonshire family to whom Mr. Cutcliffe Hyne, the popular novelist, is in some way related. At the present day they are neighbours of Sir Roper Lethbridge at Exbourne. The Eurasian branch of the family became household proprietors in Calcutta over a century ago, owning landed property on the site of the New Hogg Market and the late Opera House. Madge's Lane, as stated in Mr. H. E. A. Cotton's *Calcutta Old and New*, is named after the family and one of them signed the Farewell Address to Lord Minto in 1813.

It is not generally known that in the year 1847 the old Residency graveyard at Jangipur (District Murshidabad) was washed away by the river. In the *Calcutta Gazette* of Saturday, March 4, 1848, there appears the following "NOTICE":—

During the last floods in the Bhaugirutty River the Burial Ground at Jungypore was washed away.

The tablets described beneath were removed from the monuments and deposited in the Toll Office, and will be delivered to any relatives or friends of the deceased, to whose memory they were erected, on application to M. Larruleta, Esq., Jungypore.

List of Tablets in the Jungypore Toll Office :—

To the Memory of Lieutenant O. B. Thomas, 19th Regiment, N.I.

Ditto ditto of Evan Law, Esq., of the H. C. Civil Service.

Ditto ditto of George James, the infant son of Lieutenant-Colonel Allen Cameron, 3rd Buffs.

Ditto ditto of Constantine Joseph Jordon.

Ditto ditto of Mrs. T. Catornia, Junior.

Ditto ditto of John Blackmore Dorrett.

Ditto ditto of Edward Parry Woodcock, born 29th September 1835, died 5th August 1836.

(Sd.) J. LANG, Captain,

Officiating Superintendent, N.R.

KRISHNAGHUR, 23rd February, 1848.

The above list should be of some interest as the names it contains are to be found neither in the *Bengal Obituary*, nor perhaps in any other compilation. "Evan" Law may be Ewan Law, of the Honorable Company's a George Ewan Law, of the same Service, buried in South Park Street

Civil Service, who died at an early age on December 19, 1818. There is Cemetery, Calcutta (1820). Mrs. T. "Catornia," Jr., should be Mrs. T. *Catania*, Jr. Mr. Catania was for some years in the service of the King of Oudh at Lucknow, and married (as his second wife, it is believed) Miss Fenwick of Calcutta. Interesting as it is to have a list of those buried at Jangipur, it would scarcely be less interesting to know what became of all the tablets there.

E. W. M.

E. W. M. sends the following note in continuation of his article on "Old St. James's" in the April number of *Bengal: Past and Present*.

The Church fell in August 1858, but on which particular day of the week or at what hour it is not certain. A lady has since written to say it was on a Monday (August 23rd ?), at about 4 A.M. As to the hour she is very likely to be correct, for in this connection it will be remembered that the versical chronicler wrote: "But, *in a night*, plinth, jetting, frieze are gone!" To the list of the churches in or about Calcutta, which are no longer in existence, may be added two Chapels belonging to the London Missionary Society at Coolie Bazar now known as Hastings. In 1837 a bungalow chapel was erected on the site afterwards occupied by the "Conductors' Barracks. As this was found too small a *pucca* chapel was next built, and was opened for public worship on New Year's Day, 1847. The ground upon which this second chapel stood being required by Government the latter gave compensation to the amount of Rs. 3,000, as well as the fine site on what is now known as Bridge Road, where the present chapel (a more commodious building) stands. It was opened in 1855. The "Seaman's Church," once served by the well known Father Hopkins, was originally, and has once more become, a Government godown. Two tablets, which used to be on its walls, have been erected on the walls of St. Stephen's Church, Kidderpore. Then there was the small chapel in Chitpore, opened by Mr. Petrusse, an Armenian, for Dissenters, (1806).

To revert to the Rev. R. B. Boswell. After the death of his first wife he remarried, at Calcutta, October 21, 1834. His second lady was Miss Susan Anne Carnegie, the daughter of a Major-General in the Bengal Army. In consequence of his intended departure on furlough, the parishioners met and presented him with a Bible (January 7, 1843); but, as is well known, Mr. Boswell returned to St. James's where he laboured for many years longer. The foundation-stone of the "Boswell Hall Literary Institution" was laid by Bishop Cotton on February 2, 1865. A Fancy-Fair on its behalf had been held during the November previous. Among other comparatively interesting names borne on the Baptismal Registers is that of

Susan Frederica, the youngest daughter of Lieutenant-General Sir Gabriel Martindell, K.C.B. She was born at Cawnpore in 1826, baptised here in 1833, and, according to an announcement in the *Friend of India* of January 21, 1841, she was, on the 12th idem, married at Calcutta to Mr. H. G. Madge. Old St. James's registers also record (1850) the baptism of Cecil George, son of the eminent financier, Sir George Welsh Kellner, K.C.M.G., C.S.I., and Caroline (*nee* Gardener) his (first) wife. The young man returned to India as a barrister, but died at Maimansingh in his thirtieth year.

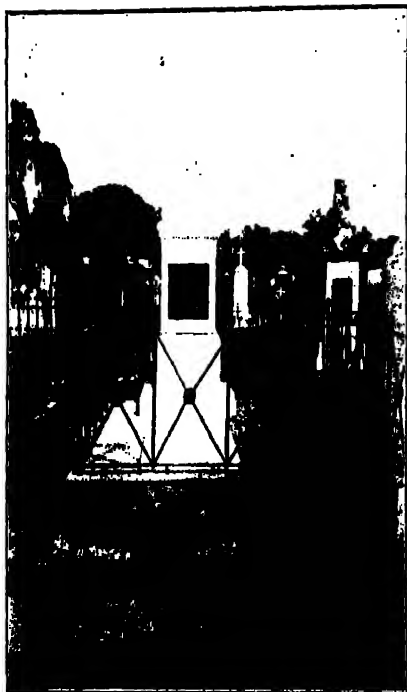
One of our members, who is at present on furlough in Europe, writes to say that he hopes shortly to have the pleasure of calling upon M^{lle} Amélie Allard, who is in her seventy-ninth year and resides at San Tropez (near Hyères) in France. The lady is the second daughter of Jean Francois Allard one of Ranjit Singh's famous "white generals," regarding whom Mr. K. N. Dhar wrote in the *Journal* of December 22, 1907. Allard died in 1839. His daughter possesses a large collection of her father's letters, which, if published, would no doubt throw a flood of light on the Court life of Lahore. The same correspondent, writing from Naples, mentions the following Anglo-Indians who are buried in the Protestant cemetery there: Colonel Monier Williams (Surveyor-General of Bombay), father of Sir Monier Williams; Cracroft, a Bengal Civilian;* Colonel West, late President at Kathiawar, and Colonel Taylor, an old Madras Staff Corps officer. Quite apart from these, perhaps the most eminent person buried there is Mrs. Mary Somerville, the mathematician and astronomer (1780-1872). At Leghorn is interred Tobias Smollett the novelist (1721-71).

"Fitzwalter" writes as follows:—In Mr. Denny's long and interesting "Note on the Rev. Paul Limrick and the Limrick Family," in the last number of *Bengal: Past and Present*, it is stated that the Rev. P. Limrick "had issue two sons and four daughters." Of these the names, with particulars regarding each, are given. There was, however, another daughter regarding whom all mention is omitted. She was named Elizabeth and died in infancy. The following inscription in the old Barrackpore cemetery is quoted at page 161 of M. DeRozario's *Complete Monumental Register* (Calcutta, 1815):—

Here lie the remains of
ELIZABETH,
Daughter of the Rev. P. LIMRICK,
who died on the
8th of August 1796.
Aged 2 years.

* Probably William Cracroft who had been Civil and Sessions Judge of Dacca, and retired in 1840.





GRAVE OF COL. FORSTER.
(Photo by R. P. Anderson, Esq.)



INTERIOR OF BANDEL CHURCH.
(Photo by R. P. Anderson, Esq.)



"FORSTER'S FOLLY," BHOWANIPUR.
(Photo by R. P. Anderson, Esq.)

It may be noted that the above inscription is not included in the *Bengal Obituary* (1848, 51); neither will it be found in C. E. Wilson's *List of Inscriptions on Tombs and Monuments, Bengal* (1895), nor in J. Ventham's *Chanak Kabardin or Barrackpore Epitaphs* (1894). I was unsuccessful in finding any trace of the grave, so presume the inscription must have disappeared some time before the publication of the *Bengal Obituary* sixty years ago. The writer has also omitted to mention the date of *Padre Limrick's* appointment by the Court of Directors, *vis.*, March 28, 1788.

To Mr. R. P. Anderson (late of Messrs. Shaw, Wallace and Company), who left Calcutta by the S.S. *Nile* on the 6th May last, we are indebted for three interesting photographs. One of these represents the interior of the Bandel Church, which is too well known to need any further description in these pages. An illustrated account of Bandel appeared in the *Empress* some time last year. The two remaining photographs are of "Forster's Folly" and of Colonel H. Forster's monument respectively.

The "Folly" may be described as a circular summerhouse built in the centre of a tank at Bhowanipur. It stands near the entrance of Russa Road, North (No. 7), almost facing the I.M.S. Institution, and exactly opposite the late Justice Dwarkanath Mitter's house. It is known to the natives as *Jol Tangi*. The Kalighat tramway line runs by it. Long ago the people of Calcutta used to resort there for moonlight picnics, but it has been the property of an Indian gentleman for many years past.

According to rumour it was constructed by Mr. Henry Pitts Forster, B.C.S., as a pleasure house for his wife, a *fat* lady. There are residential quarters in the grounds. H. P. Forster, who died in 1815, held the position of Mint Master. Although the place is called "Forster's Folly" the man himself was anything but a fool. Besides being a fine amateur painter, he was well known in his day as an Orientalist. He published "A Vocabulary, English and Bongalee (*sic*) and Vice Versa" in two large quarto volumes (1799), and it is said to have been largely through his exertions that Bengali became the official and literary language of the Province.

The next picture represents the monument, in Lower Circular Road Cemetery, to the memory of his son, Colonel Henry Forster, C.B. (1793-1862). It was he who raised the Shekhawati Brigade (now 13th Rajputs), and it will be remembered that on the 20th December last a picturesque ceremony took place at his grave, which was described at pages 184-185 of our April number. Suffice it to add that the monument has recently been repaired at the expense of the officers of the 13th Rajputs and that Colonel W. Prior's history of that regiment is now out of press. Shortly after the Mutiny Colonel Forster was appointed

Commissioner of Sambalporc, and arrived there on March 29, 1858, under a salute of thirteen guns. A correspondent of the *Bengal Harbarn* reported that when this salute was fired the poor Ooriahs, who had heard one for the first time, were terrified, thinking the world was at an end! Again, the Sambalporc correspondent records that when Colonel Forster left that station for England (August 17, 1858) his regiment was greatly distressed at parting from him. "I don't think" (says the writer) "I ever witnessed a more affecting scene in my life than what occurred at the time he was leaving. The Shekhawatis cried like children. They say they have lost their father, &c., &c." No wonder the old Colonel was popular, if it be true that one of his hobbies was making presents to all the little ones of his acquaintance, including even his sepoy's children!

By an unfortunate oversight, the concluding portion of the note contributed by Lieutenant-Colonel Crawford to our January number was omitted while our pages were in the press. As two of the subjects touched upon by the Colonel have been dealt with elsewhere in *Bengal: Past and Present*, the concluding portion of his notes is given in a slightly abridged form. It reads on from page 118.

This break southwards of the Damudar must have taken place some centuries ago, at least two centuries. But for a long time after the first break southwards, at Sulalpur, the Damudar still continued to flow into the Hughli at Nayasarai; but after a very circuitous, instead of a straight course. Leaving the present bed about Salimabad in Burdwan district, it followed the course of the stream now known as the Kana Nadi, flowing south and a little east, turning eastwards a little north of Tarakeswar, thence flowing eastwards to Gopalnagar, near Singur, then turning abruptly northwards again, and flowing north and a little east to Magra; thence eastwards for two miles from Magra to Nayasarai. From either Sulalpur, at the southward bend, or from Salimabad, five or six miles south of Sulalpur, to Nayasarai is about 27 miles in a straight line. From Salimabad to Nayasarai by the circuitous course of the Kana Nadi is about 45 miles, not counting minor twists and turns, which would probably add 15 or 20 miles more. This appears to have been the course of the Damudar up to the middle of the eighteenth century. The actual date of the break south into its present channel is said to have been 1762. In Rennell's *Atlas of Hindustan*, published in 1781, the Damudar is shown in its present bed. The Kana Nadi is called the "Old Dummoodah."

In the seventeenth century the Damudar is frequently called the "Moundelgat" (Mandal Ghat) river.

The Kana Nadi, which is also called the Kunti Khal or Kunti Nadi, and, at its mouth, the Magra Khal, is still a fairly big stream. It is crossed by

large bridges on the roads from Haripal to Dhaniakhali, Chinsurah to Dhaniakhali, Hughli to Polba; by the Grand Trunk Road at Magra and by the East Indian Railway just north of Magra Station, and the Bengal Provincial Railway a little east of Magra. The Hughli-Kalna road crosses it by a very large suspension bridge near its mouth. This bridge is visible from the Hughli river. The remains of an old bridge may also be seen close by.

It is navigable by large country boats from the Hughli up to Magra at all states of the tide in the rains and at high tide at other times of the year. It is not fordable, as a rule, not so much from the depth of water as from the deep sticky mud in its bed.

The Damudar now carries down little or no water through Hughli district in the hot weather. At best it dwindles down to a stream a few yards wide and a few inches deep, connecting long pools, in which the water is deeper and broader. On the 28th April 1904 I found the Damudar ford between Chapadanga and Pussura on the old Benares road absolutely dry.

Most of the water which flows past Burdwan in the Damudar now passes through the Begna Mohana breach in the eastern embankment and joins the Muneswari river which flows into the Rupnarayan at Ranichak.

Page 167. Hospital. You are quite right in saying that the native hospital, existing in 1792, was the precursor of the present Mayo Hospital not of the Medical College Hospital. I was wrong.

In Kenneth McLeod's *History of the Medical Schools of the Bengal Presidency*, Calcutta, 1872, it is stated (page 11) that a small inpatient hospital, with an outdoor dispensary, in connection with the new Medical College (opened 1835) was opened on 1st April 1838. A larger hospital accommodating 70 to 100 sick was opened in 1839.

Page 202. Dr. Tyso Saul Hancock. I can give the following notes about him.

30th April 1751. Appointed Head Surgeon at Devecottah (name spelt Hendcock, Fort St. David Consultations, Vol. XIX; pp. 111-114).

31st October 1754. To succeed next after Mr. James Wilson on this coast (name spelt Handcock, Madras Public Consultations, Vol. LXXXIII, pp. 675-683).

7th September 1753. Dr. Hancock at Fort St. David, various letters from him (Fort St. David Consultations, Vol. XX, pp. 251-255).

23rd June 1758. Mr. T. S. Hancock, late Surgeon of Fort St. David, to be one of the Company's Surgeons at the Presidency (*i.e.* Madras) (Madras Public Consultations, Vol. LXXXVIII, pp. 125-126).

12th June 1759. Permission to Mr. Hancock to remove to Bengal (Madras Public Consultations, Vol. LXXXIX, pp. 204-205).

3rd July 1759. Entertainment of Mr. Hancock as Surgeon at Fort William (Letter of 21st August 1759 from Fort William. *Letters to Fort St. George*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 94-95).

November 1761. Resigned on account of ill health (Letter from Bengal, 12th November 1761, para. 101).

November 1770. Appointed supernumerary at the Presidency, but not to rise (Letter from Bengal, 25th November 1770, para. 56).

In a series of papers in the India Office, *Home Series, Miscellaneous 1758*, is a list of Surgeons serving in India in 1749, with some annotations, more or less bringing it up to date, from 1749 to 1758. In this list are four "Surgeon's mates at Fort St. David in 1748," one of whom is Saul Hancock. This gives a date three years earlier than the first of the notes above, Hancock's first appointment in India.

Hancock is mentioned as a friend of Hastings in S. C. Grier's *Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*, but I have not kept a note of the exact circumstances.

Page 197. William Pitts. Married the widow of Gabriel Boughton, see *Hedges' Diary*, Vol. III, p. 188, rather an amusing quotation, I could quote it at length if you like.

"K. N. D." writes as follows:—In the last number of *Bengal: Past and Present* I observe three excellent photographs of the Patna cemetery by Mr. P. A. Selfe and Mr. A. de Cosson. In each of these pictures perhaps the most noticeable feature is a lofty column regarding which I now beg leave to offer a description. This column is 70 ft. high and is peculiarly constructed. The footings are three steps which lead to a broad base about 20 ft. high. The shaft has six projecting rims, at a distance of about 4 ft. from each other, and the whole is crowned with a lofty urn on a pedestal. The lowest step at the base is about 8 ft. square. The column, which has been called the "Black Hole of Patna," commemorates the massacre of the victims of Sumroo. Subjoined is a copy of the inscription on a marble tablet on its eastern face.

In Memory of
First-Lieutenants RICHARD PERRY and
GEORGE HOCKLER ;
Lieutenant Fireworkers JOHN BROWN,
ARDEAN DECKERS, JOHN READ, and
BENJAMIN ADAMSON,
Of the Honourable East India Company's
Artillery :

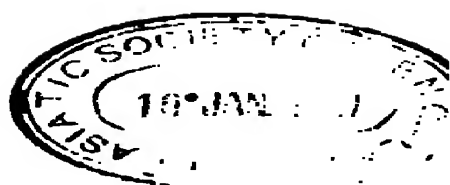
Captains CHARLES ERNEST
 JOECHER, HENRY SOMMERS,
 JAMES TABBY
 and GEORGE WILSON ;
 Lieutenants RICHARD HOLLAND,
 GEORGE ALSTON
 and Sir WILLIAM HOPE, Baronet ;
 Ensigns JOHN GREENTREE, ROBERT ROBERTS,
 DUNCAN MACLEOD, WILLIAM CRAWFORD,
 WILLIAM HINCLES, ISAAC HUMPHRIES, JOHN
 ROBERT ROACH, JOHN PERRY and
 WALTER MACKEY,
 Of the Hon'ble East India Company's
 Infantry :
 Doctors CAMPBELL and ANDERSON ;
 Messrs. HAY, ELLIS and LUSHINGTON,
 Servants of the Honourable East India Company
 Who,
 With many other captives of inferior rank,
 Were,
 On the nights of the 5th or 6th and 11th October 1763,
 Brutally massacred near this spot,
 By the troops of MIR KASIM ALI NAWAB SUBAHDAR,
 of Bengal,
 Under command of
 WALTER REINHARDT, *alias* SUMROO,
 a base renegade.
"E dedecore hostium nata est gloria eorum."

It is well-known that before the days of the Suez Canal John Company's servants had to come and go round the Cape of Good Hope. Such being the case, it is quite understandable that several old Civilians and Soldiers, while journeying home in quest of health, left their bones at Cape Town. The old cemeteries there having fallen into a ruinous condition, it is now proposed by the local authorities to clear and transform them into city parks. The *Pioneer* of the 1st June draws attention to three persons buried there and expresses the reasonable hope that their names may be preserved by some permanent record before their tombs are levelled. The names are Richard Chicheley Plowden whose monument is described as a "graceful structure of brick and mortar;" Philip Yorke Lindsay, son of a Bishop of Kildare ; and Joseph Lusson, an Agent of the Company. Regarding R. C.

Plowden it may be added that he was for some time Secretary to of Trade and that the last appointment he held was that of Salt Agent at Hiji. He died on the 14th July 1825. A record of his services will be found in Dodwell and Miles' *Alphabetical List of Bengal Civil Servants*. P. Y. Lindsay was Superintendent of Salt Golahs, at Salha before he died on the 18th December 1833. He had held for some time the post of Collector of Mymensing and had also acted as Mint Master at Calcutta. His father was the Hon'ble Charles Dalrymple Lindsay, Bishop of Killaloe from 1804 to 1846, and (as may be gathered from Haydn's *Book of Signities*) it was after his death that the See was absorbed by the Archbishopric of Dublin. The name Luson is one that still appears in the list of Bengal Civil Servants.

K. N. D.

With reference to the view in this issue of 25, Mango Lane it may not be generally known that this house (now tenanted by Messrs. Lyall, Marshall & Co. and, on the upper flat, by Messrs. Loveless and Lewis) has an interesting history. In the 'seventies, the building was occupied by Messrs. Carlises, Nephews and Co. The great banking establishment of Barretto Co., which failed in 1827, was formerly located here. The house is one of the few that had a treasure-vault, now disappeared; but in the upper flat may be seen a curious stunted door (studded with flat knobs) which, in the words of a recent writer, "leads to nowhere in particular, but when closed hints at great possibilities." The Barretto family is one of ancient Portuguese origin and two of its members, *vis.*, Francesco Barretto (1555-1558) and Antonio Moniz Barretto (1523-76) were Viceroys of the Portuguese possessions in India. Joseph Barretto, who died on the 25th September 1824, aged 74 years 8 months, was a merchant prince of Calcutta. He enjoyed so great a reputation for wealth that he was accredited by some of the natives with the power of transmuting base metals into gold. He was also a Persian scholar and edited for some time the *Shamsulughat*. The Roman Catholic Cathedral in Moorghibatta (the foundation-stone of which was laid on 12th March 1797, followed by the consecration and dedication to the *Virgin Mary of Rosary* on 27th November 1799) owes its establishment largely to his munificence, and his name is commemorated by a tablet under the portico of the grand entrance. He purchased for Rs. 5,200 the plot of land just north of the Sealdah Railway Station now known as the Portuguese (St. John's Roman Catholic) Cemetery at Baitakhana (No. 307, Upper Circular Road) and, as may be gathered from the inscription now the signature of the Vicar and three Wardens on a "petition" in the cemetery, presented it on the 8th February 1786 as an *anjo* for *seppelido* Roman





Catholics. He also acquired as a pleasure resort, some land in Sookasagar (the "Ocean of Delight"), once well-known as the country residence of Warren Hastings. There Barretto lived like a prince, and built a Roman Catholic Chapel for the use of his family, but his successor, M. Lauraletta, a Spaniard, noted for his hospitality and sporting propensities, converted it into an abode for *mahouts* and fighting cocks! Joseph made many roads there and planted them with *nim* trees. In 1792, he had a rum distillery there as also sugar works and the place was called Chota Calcutta in his time. House and estate have long since been washed away by the river, but pictures of Sookasagar House and Ruins appear in Colesworthy Grant's "Rural Life in Bengal."* From an original receipt kindly placed at our disposal by Mr. P. Maguire, it appears that in August, 1811, a parcel of land adjoining Tiretta's Bazar was sold by Joseph Barretto to Messrs. Fairlie Ferguson & Co. for about sicca rupees 2,000. The plot was estimated to be over nine cottahs and was bounded on the north by Barretto's Bazar, on the south and west by De l'Etang's Repository and on the east by Chhattawalla Gully. The land, it is interesting to add, really belonged to the Rev. William Johnson (the husband of Begum Johnson) who in 1788 had returned to England leaving his spouse behind him. The Armenian Ghat of the present day was known as Barretto's Ghat in 1793, and Barretto's Lane, which runs between Mangoe Lane and British Indian Street, was, of course, named after the family. Joseph had a brother named Luis who died at the age of 61, on the 3rd September 1806. He is buried in the Moorghibatta Roman Catholic Cathedral along with his wife Deodata Barretto and his son John who died prematurely on 3rd April 1813, when he was only 20 years old. This young man had bequeathed no less than five lakhs of rupees for distribution among religious and charitable institutions. A daughter of Luis and Deodata Barretto, Pascoa by name, married Thomas de Souza, and became the foundress of the Church of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in Dharamtala (1832). She died in 1856 at the age of 81. This lady was the

* It was of Sookasagar House that a perhaps all too serious writer wrote in 1829 after a visit to its

"How frightful a silence still reigns through the place"

"As in mockery misnamed 'of Delight'!"

"Of the glories of the living no vestige I trace"

"'Tis the tomb of the dead meets my sight."

"'Twas the sea of false pleasure expensive and gay,"

"Where breezes enchanting hupel,"

"Where beams and bright hope on the surface may play"

"Where beneath yawns the dark gulf of Hell."

Other verses of this sombre literary effort may be found on page 175 of the last volume of *Bengal: Past and Present*.

paternal grandmother of the well-known philanthropists, Laurence Augustus and Sir Walter de Souza.

K. N. D.

Mr. Herbert A. Stark sends the following extracts relative to Calcutta thoroughfares :—

" Though there is no public regulation or agreement for lighting the town of Calcutta, we are happy to observe that lights are springing slowly up here and there, which by the power of example may by-and-bye spread widely over the town. At the Government house gate lamps have been suspended which throw out a cheerful light across the street, and relieve the obscurity of Esplanade Row, and that angle where the road from the Town Hall joins the course. In Chowringhee too we have observed lamps lighted at the gate of some two or three private mansions."—*India Gazette* (1822).

" On Friday evening, about sunset, the beautiful steam engine erected at Chandpaul Ghat for watering the streets of Calcutta was put in motion for the first time."—*Bengal Harkaru* (4th November 1822).

In 1823, the Lottery Committee widened and drained certain streets, and removed from the neighbourhood of Wellington Square "an assemblage of the most filthy huts inhabited by lascars." In the same year the Strand Road was made by the Committee for improving the City.

Garrison Order.—H. E. the Most Noble Governor-General is pleased to direct that in future "Velocipedes" shall not be permitted to enter the Respondentia Walk (Nov. 23, 1819). [*N.B.*—This Walk was between the Fort and Chandpaul Ghat.]

Mr. H. Brown of Messrs. Burn & Co. writes from Edinburgh :—Captain Robert Bruce Swinton of the Berkshire Regiment whose sudden death was announced in 1904 was the only surviving son of Major William Bentick Swinton, Madras Light Cavalry (killed in India in 1876), by Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Cadell of Ratho, Midlothian (Cadets of the Cadells of Cockenzie). Major Swinton was the grandson of John Swinton of that ilk (one of the Senators of the College of Justice under the title of Lord Swinton) by his son George Swinton, Chief Secretary to the Governor-General of India. Captain Swinton's elder brother was killed in action in Egypt in 1885. The Swintons of that ilk are an ancient Saxon family who took their surname from the Barony of Swinton, County Berwick. Edulf de Swinton of Swinton was seated there in the eleventh century in the reigns of Macbeth and Malcolm III. His son Liulf, living under King Edgar, was the father of Udard de Swinton, Sheriff of Berwick when Alexander I was David King, and a charter obtained by his successor Hernulf de Swinton from David I (who died in 1153), is still to be seen in the archives of the Chapter of Durham,

Sir Alan de Swinton obtained a charter of the Barony of Swinton from the Prior of Coldingham in the reign of William the Lion, and his son Alan was a benefactor of that religious house. Henry of Swinton swore fealty to Edward I at Berwick in 1296—as did so many other Scots. Charters are still preserved amongst the family papers, in connection with the estate of Swinton, which were confirmed by Robert II in 1382, and ratified by a Bull of Pope Clement III, dated Avignon, 1383. Sir John Swinton was a man of note, a soldier, and a statesman in the reigns of the second and third Roberts, and a great favourite of both these Kings. To his bravery at the battle of Otterburn in 1388, where he was high in command, the Scots were largely indebted for the victory which they gained there notwithstanding the death of the Douglas. This gallant soldier met a heroic death at Homildon as readers of Sir Walter Scott will remember.

By his wife, a daughter of Robert II, was born his successor, also Sir John Swinton of that ilk equally distinguished as a soldier as was his father.

This Sir John Swinton was one of the contingent of Scots who crossed to France and fought the English there. At the battle of Baugé he unhorsed and slew the Duke of Clarence, brother of Henry V, and at the battle of Verneuil he met his own death. His son again, Sir John Swinton, died in 1493 and was the father of John Swinton of that ilk who was Warden *Député* of the East Marches under Queen Mary, and the father of his successor Sir John Swinton, whose grandson, Sir Alexander Swinton, was Sheriff of Berwick. One of Sir Alexander's younger sons was killed at Worcester (where he fought on the King's side) while attempting to carry off Cromwell's standard. Sir Alexander's eldest son and successor, John, was also at the battle of Worcester, but only as a spectator, he having been carried a prisoner to England by Cromwell.

Sir Alexander suffered forfeiture of his estates, which however were restored to his son (whose mother was a daughter of Lord Blantyre), Sir John Swinton of that ilk in 1690. This Sir John resided in Holland during the forfeiture. He was a member of the Union Parliament, and a man of note. Probably the fact of greatest interest that can be stated about him is that his eldest daughter, Jean Swinton, who married Professor John Rutherford, was the grandmother of Sir Walter Scott. In his drama of "Haledon Hill" Scott had therefore for its subject an ancestor as well as a Scottish hero. Sir John Swinton died in 1724, and was succeeded by his son John, a member of the Scottish bar, and father of that Scottish Judge Lord Swinton (died 1799), who, as already shown was the grandfather of Captain Swinton whose death is recorded above. Archibald Swinton, the founder of Burn & Co., Calcutta, was the fourth son of John Swinton of Swinton and went to India in or about 1752.

The present head of this family is John Edulf Balgrave Swinton of that ilk, born 1864, whose residence is Swinton Bank, Peebles, and at Edinburgh and London. I have just had the pleasure of an interview on the above subjects with the present head of this illustrious family.

Of Henry Derozio, Bengala's youthful bard, more than one leading English critic—Mr. George Saintsbury and Mr. W. M. Rossetti, for instance,—has written kindly. Derozio would appear to have found his latest admirer in Mr. E. F. Oaten whose "*Sketch of Anglo-Indian Literature*" (Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1908) gained the Le Bas prize last year. In the course of a letter addressed to a person at Calcutta, Mr. Oaten adds :—

" * * * I am very much attracted by that remarkable man's character and attainments. Genius, they say, ripens early and dies early in India ; but I cannot but think that the bloom of promise which the spring of Derozio's life put forth would have borne yet nobler fruit had a summer or autumn of life been granted him. If my poor work serves in any degree to rescue Derozio's poems from undeserved oblivion, I shall be amply repaid."



Some Transactions of the Calcutta Historical Society.

THE ANNUAL MEETING.



THE first Annual General Meeting of the Society was held on the 28th January 1908, in the Hall of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the President, the Hon. Sir Francis Maclean, being in the chair. There was a good attendance. Sir Francis pleasantly commented on the termination of a successful period of working. The report and audited accounts were presented and passed, and office-bearers elected for the year 1908. A *verbatim* report of the proceedings, with the report and accounts and a full list of members, has been separately circulated.

CHANDERNAGORE.

*Danc and Dutchman, each rebelling,
Dipped his flag and left the fray,
Silver convent bells are knelling
(Fleurs-de-lys') o'er-shadowed day—
But fair England's banners swelling
Star the wondrous waterway.*

*Dead Ghyretty's pictured ceiling
Sleeps beneath the jungle shade,
By the serpent-track revealing
Cornice-wreck and balustrade,
And the ghosts go ever stealing
Down the wind-bit esplanade.*

*Tranquebar's pale Danish daughter,
Aureole-tressed and violet eyed,
Laughs towards the shadowy water
Where the dim feelchehras ride—
'Ere fell Philip's kiss had sought her,
'Ere she posed a prince's bride.*

Comes Dupleix—Dupleix forgetting—

(West and East, but France as lord,—

Sun-dream with a cloud-wrapped setting)

Grasping still a broken sword

To a note of wailed regretting

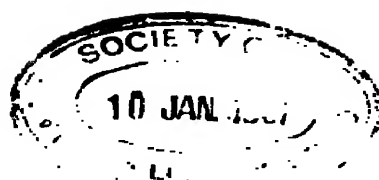
Wrung from some hid harpsichord. DAK (in the Empire.)

The festival of *Dashahara*, a general holiday, on Tuesday, the 9th June 1908, afforded another opportunity for an excursion; the French settlement of Chandernagore was, on this occasion, selected as the objective of the party. The *Jainti* was again requisitioned; and, with the Society's flag at the fore, and a large party of members and their friends on board, she left Mirbazar Ghât (above Bridge) shortly after 11 A.M. The weather served admirably; the Palace Hotel Co., as usual, provided substantial and acceptable refreshments. The bookstall amidships did a good business in the sale of the C.H.S.'s and other publications of local historical interest. Mr. Mitchell the new Secretary, was deservedly congratulated upon the result of his maiden endeavours to make the day the pleasing and instructive success it proved to be.

It is worthy of note that the C.H.S. has now visited all places of interest in Bengal (with the exception of the Budge-Budge district) usually associated in history with the personality and exploits of Clive.

The southern confines of the last of the Hughli's European settlements other than British were reached as tiffin was in progress, and the good ship slid past the wooded territory in, the recesses of which lie the ruins of the once magnificent French Palace at Ghyretty. Chandernagore reached, the party, on landing at the principal ghat in the centre of the Esplanade met with a hearty welcome from a representative gathering of our gallant neighbours, who brought a message of greeting from M. Guizonior, the Administrateur. A cordial reception by the Maire, M. Leon Tardivel, followed, and introductions were made to Messrs. J. E. and A. Leheureaux, F. Chrestien, and other residents. Mr. E. W. Madge, of the Imperial Library, Calcutta, had preceded the travellers by train, and met the steamer at the landing stage. Lieutenant-Colonel Crawford joined the party later on. A sufficing supply of *ticca gharries* was provided by the courtesy of the Maire.

A short drive, skirting the "*Lal Dighi*" tank, led to the Cemetery, to the north-west of the present town, and the Mr. Madge, plan in hand, pointed out the chief monuments of historical interest. Mr. Madge's knowledge of the cemeteries of Bengal is "extensive and peculiar:" what he either does not know or is unwilling to impart to his fellow members may be dismissed





CHANDERNAGORE CEMETERY
(Photo by A. Adayman, Esq.)



TOMB OF J. M. R. MICHELOT.
 Chirurgien Major de Chandernagore.
(Photo by A. Adayman, Esq.)

from the mind as unknowable. His careful study of the *Campo Santo* of Chandernagore afforded those who had the good fortune to be present a unique opportunity for seeing all that is best worth seeing in this resting city of the living who have died.

The most interesting inscription is perhaps the one in the mortuary chapel to a lady of the Worlée (Werlée, Varié, or Verlé) family. A tablet to another member of the family may be seen at the entrance to the chapel. Among others buried here are Captain Bourgoïn, Knight of St. Louis and of the Legion of Honor, and Chief of the Settlement of Cossimbazar; Chevalier Doyot, Intendant-General of the French settlements in Bengal; J. Piaggio, late Mahratta Officer; the widow of Dr. B. Hartley (the name recalling "Hartly House"); Chevalier de Jancigny, the Orientalist; Eugene Courjon "Prince de Chandernagore"; Miss Alice Rattray, the daughter of Robert Haldane Rattray, a well known Bengal Civilian; E. W. Hollingbery, a member of an old Calcutta family; Henry Piddington, a Meteorological writer, who invented the word "Cyclone;" the Rev. R. Bland, Chaplain of Gôwhati; Felix Niel, Acting Administrator, and last, but not least, Jules de Momet, "a brave soldier of the first Napoleon." There is also in the cemetery a nameless dwarf pillar over the grave of Major Walter Key Haslewood, erected, it is said, by a *kapra-wallah*, Kala Chand.

The most ancient inscription, bearing date 1753, is in Armenian; a rubbing of it has been sent to the Asiatic Society of Bengal for its archives.

The site of Fort St. Orleans was next visited. As in the case of Old Fort William, and also the barracks at Berhampur, Fort Orleans stood between a large tank and the river. In June 1756, when Renault, the Chief of Chandernagore, foresaw trouble ahead, and was beginning to make preparations, he described the Fort as—

"Almost in the middle of the settlement, surrounded by houses, which command it, a square of about 600 feet, built of brick, flanked with four bastions, with six guns each without ramparts or glacis. The southern curtain, about four feet thick, not raised to its full height, was provided only with a battery of four guns; there was a similar battery to the west, but the rest of the west curtain was only a wall of mud and brick, about a foot and a half thick, and eight or nine feet high; there were warehouses ranged against the east curtains which faced the Ganges and which were still in process of construction; the whole of this side had no ditch, and that round the other sides are dry, only four feet in depth and a mere ravine. The walls of the Fort up to the ramparts were fifteen feet high, and the houses on the edge of the counterscarp, which commanded it, were as much as 30 feet."

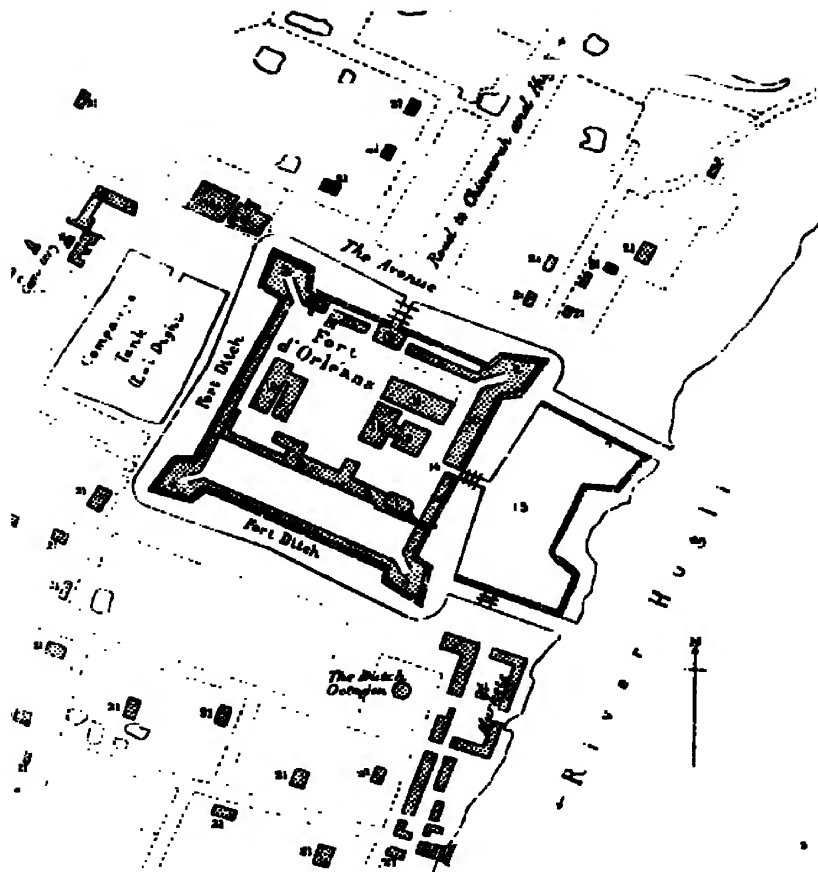
By way of strengthening his feeble position, Renault, as he says, "commenced to pull down the church and the house of the Jesuit Fathers, situated on the edge of the ditch, also all the houses of private persons which masked the entire north curtain." It should never be forgotten that in this Jesuit house, thus dismantled, died one of the greatest of those admirable and perfectly amazing Jesuit missionaries. For the story of the heroic career of Bishop François Laynez we must consult the work of the Rev. Father Auguste Jean *Le Madure : L'Ancienne et La Nouvelle Mission*. Having, it is said, baptized with his own hand no less than 30,000 of the heathen, and travelled on evangelising tours from Trichinopoly to the borders of Tibet, the Bishop died, in the presence of the brethren of his Society, at Chandernagore, on the 11th of June, 1715. His body was in all probability buried before the High Altar at the Jesuit Church. Would it not be possible to make some excavations in order to see whether the pavement of the old sanctuary might not be traced?

Returning to the Fort Orleans, we were able to find some of the brick-work (it runs along the roadside) of the east curtain, which Orme states was thirty yards from the river. Mr. S. C. Hill tells us that the ditch before the west curtain stood twelve feet from the Great Tank. We, thanks to M. Leheureaux, were able to trace the position of the Porte Royale, which faced the road northward to Chinsurah, and was in Renault's opinion on "the weakest side of the Fort." For the narrative of the Siege one must, of course, consult Mr. S. C. Hill's *Three Frenchmen in Bengal*.

The Expedition then drove to the Convent Chapel of the Immaculate Conception. There is a tradition that this edifice was originally an Armenian place of worship, and that it was presented to the Roman Catholic authorities by an Armenian lady convert. We have since learned from M. Leheureaux that it is the old Capuchin Church. The doors of the Chapel bear the date 1722—two years later than Dupleix's arrival at Pondicherry, and nine before his arrival at Chandernagore. It may be supposed that it was to this building that Bishop Heber refers in his *Journal*. "The little Church, which I had seen from the beach, belongs to the 'Tibet Mission,' a branch of that Society 'pro propaganda fide' at Rome which seems to extend its cares all over India" (Vol. i. p. 111).

A visit was paid to the ruins of the Eglise de St. Louis. Mr. Julian Cotton writes in his brother's (H. E. A. Cotton's) book "The present church covers the site of the older Church of St. Louis, where he (Dupleix) married his wife Jeanne, the famous Joanna Begum, from whom he learned the tongues and talents of oriental diplomacy." Here are some mistatements. The original Church of St. Louis was, as the accompanying map will show, within the walls of Fort Orleans. In the Siege of 1757 it bore four guns on its roof.

Fort d'Orleans, Chandernagore, 1749



14 Church of St. Louis.
15 St. R. or du Pavillon.
16 de Anges.
17 St. Francis.
18 St. Joseph.
19 Pondre Naganna.

6. Office.
7. Governor's House.
8. Warehouse.
9. House of Company's Servants.
10. Barracks.
11. Forts Royale.
12. Ganges or Water Gate.

* Extra

13. Barracks (unfinished).
14. House of the Jesuit Fathers
15. Church "
16. Company's Hospital. "
17. Hospital for the Poor.
18. Outpost.
19. European Houses

(It may be noted that in 1756 there were at least three Churches in Chandernagore—the Parish Church of St. Louis, the Jesuits' Church, and the Capuchin Church). The original St. Louis was destroyed in the Siege: a salt gola to the south of the site of the old Fort was afterwards turned into the second Church of St. Louis. The present Parish Church occupies a site still more to the south; after visiting the ruined gateway of the second *Eglise de St. Louis*, we crossed the road, and visited the fine modern Church of the Sacred Heart. All were impressed by the stateliness and dignity of its interior. It was, at one time, served by the clergy of the excellent *Congregation du S. Esprit et du S. Cœur de Marie*—a missionary body founded by the Venerable Libermann, a converted Jew, who during long years of suffering as a victim to epileptic fits, instituted the great Order, which has done so much noble work for the emancipation, evangelisation, and civilisation of the East African slaves. The statuette of Jean d'Arc, which stands before the Church, was much admired. In the public gardens, close by, we paid the homage of silent respect to Fragel's bust of England's rival Empire-builder, Joseph Francis Dupleix. To aid our memories, let us note that Dupleix was born about seven years after that memorable St. Bartholomew's day, when Charnock made his "mid-day halt," and founded Calcutta.

The *Rue* bearing the name of General Claud Martin keeps alive the memory of another great Frenchman of the brave days of old. Perhaps, however, the fact that the C.H.S. was pressing a foreign soil was best brought home by the purchase at the Post Office of stamps bearing neither the image nor the superscription of H.M. "Edvardus Septimus." A glance at the well advertised Hotels on the river frontage, at the *Conciergerie*, and other public buildings preceded a visit to the residence of the Maire, on the walls of the state room of which a portrait of the late M. Alfred Courjon occupies the place of honour. M. Tardivel in a few kind words proposed "The C.H.S." to which the Rev. W. K. Firminger responded in a speech suitably expressing the pleasure the Maire's hospitality had given his guests. The toast of the *entente cordiale* was enthusiastically drunk by all present in bumpers of unforgettably excellent Sparkling Burgundy.

At the Maire's house were laid out for our inspection the old Register of Marriages. Unfortunately we had not sufficient time to make much use of the rare opportunity so kindly afforded us. We looked at "the act of marriage between Dupleix and his Joanna." The record bears witness that Dupleix had at the time reached the age of forty-three and had attained the position of "President of the Superior Council at Pondicherry, and General Commandant of the French Possessions in India." Madame Dupleix, the daughter of M. Albret, the French Company's surgeon at Pondicherry, had, in the year previous, lost her first husband, M. Vincens, to whom she had borne six

children. Malleson notes "I find it recorded that her wise counsels and her energy sustained her husband in all his trials. She was with him during the whole period of his administration of French India. And when that administration came to a close, she accompanied him to France, to die of the chagrin caused by the injustice meted out to the husband she adored." She was thirty-three years of age at the time of her marriage with Duplex.

The second entry in this old register of which special note was taken was that of George François Grand with Catherine Noël Werlée. According to the custom of the time, in case of mixed-marriages a double ceremony, first Roman and then Anglican, or the other way about, was held to be necessary. In this case, the pair were, as Mr. Julian Cotton notes, first married "at the uncanonical hour of 1 A.M. at Chandernagore," and the sacred rite was subsequently repeated in a private house at Hughli on 10th July, 1777. This latter ceremony is on the records of St. Johns' Church—"Mr. Francis Grand, writer in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Miss Varle of Chandernagore.—William Johnson, Chaplain." We also noted an entry of minor interest—1768 M. Nicolas to Marie Werlée (a sister of Catherine).

The history of Chandernagore, "the city of sandal wood," vivid with stirring incidents, is softened by the charm of romance. Colonel Malleson in his *History of the French in India** tells the story of the early endeavours of the French to reach India, which date back as far as 1503, and the settlement on the Hughli is mentioned by Streynsham Master in 1676 (Yule gives the date of settlement 1673). The Emperor Aurangzeb confirmed the French in possession in 1688, and, when Captain Alexander Hamilton visited the place early in the eighteenth century, he described the settlers as "for want of money not in a capacity to trade. They have a few private families dwelling near the factory, and a pretty little church to hear Mass in, which is the chief business of the French in Bengal."

Jean François Duplex, the most skilful opponent of *Messieurs les Anglais* in the East, was the founder of the good fortunes of the settlement. At the time of his arrival, in 1731, its importance was on the decline, but on his departure for Pondicherry, a decade later, its trade is said to have outstripped that of Calcutta, and it then possessed two thousand brick-houses and a population which shortly afterwards exceeded a hundred thousand. On 21st October, 1807, at the "*jardin de l'Amitie*" died Jean Henri Piron, a soldier of fortune. His epitaph is preserved in the present Parish Church. At Ghyretty House (whose great days were during the Governorship of M. Chevalier 1769 to 1787†)

* A book which recent research has left very far behind the student's requirements.

† These are Mr. Julian Cotton's dates. Chevalier left Bengal in 1778. From 10th July 1778 to 1783, Chandernagore was in the hands of the English.—Ed., *Bengal: P. & P.*

the beauty and fashion of Calcutta, Chinsurah, Serampore and Chandernagore were wont to foregather. The glorious villa's noble splendour of staircase and saloon with painted ceilings and wonderful cornices, the finest palace in India, was thought to rival that of Versailles itself; and, on occasions, Warren Hastings, "Junius" Francis, Clavering and others of the *élite* of the English world in the East found pleasure in fraternising at banquet, ball, and rout on terms of the greatest cordiality with their Gallic neighbours. The palace is now a ruin of ruins: the merest traces of it remain, as is evidenced by Mr. Firminger's photograph reproduced in the first number of this Journal—and also in one of the Society's Historical postcards.

It was, as has been seen, at Chandernagore that in 1777 George François Grand, a Swiss in the service of "John Company," wooed and won Catherine Noël, the beautiful daughter of Pierre Werlée, *pilote du Gange*. Tradition gives Tranquebar as her birthplace in 1762, but her girlhood was passed at Chandernagore; her Danish extraction probably accounted for the fairness of complexion of "cette rare et nonchalante beauté Indienne." The 1908 edition of Dr. Busteed's *Echoes of Old Calcutta* contains a portrait by M^{me}. Le Brun of the "wife of mighty Talleyrand" which, even more than Gerard's well-known effort, "portrays the wondrous Indian witchery of
"a fairy form

Which took continents by storm."

Elsewhere in this present number will be found the account of a pillage of Chandernagore by "the peons" (armed mercenaries) of either the Nawab of Murshidabad or Patna in 1769. Colonel Pearce's statement is rather vague, but it is certainly illuminating.

But to hark back somewhat: when Suraj-ud-danla marched on Calcutta, he is said to have received from the French 250 barrels of gunpowder, and, in return for which, they were let off with a fine of $3\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of rupees. Frenchmen too served in his artillery at the siege of Fort William. All this, and the fact that a junction between Bussy and the Nawab might have been effected at any time, led Clive to plan the ruin of the French factories. Three British men-of-war sailed up the Hooghly (June 1757) and the French blockaded the channel by sinking ships in the river, but a deserter, Terraneau, pointed out to the English that the channel was passable in spite of the sunken vessels. After a short, but gallant, defence by Pierre Renault the town capitulated. Of Terraneau it is said that he hanged himself, when his aged father, grieved at his conduct, had declined to receive a remittance which he had sent home. The story of the suicide is mythical. Terraneau was alive in 1765. It was at the capture of Fort Orleans that "Billy" Speke, son of the Captain of H.M.S. *Kent* (according to the epitaph in St. John's

Churchyard, Calcutta), "lost his leg and life." The pathetic narrative is one of the valued heirlooms of Calcutta's story.

At the Peace of Paris (1763), Chandernagore was restored to the French on condition that the Fort, which had been demolished, should not be rebuilt nor the place again fortified. So, when a later Governor (M. Chevalier) ordered a deep ditch to be dug round the town, the earth being thrown up to form a rampart, the British sent an Engineer officer with 800 sepoy to fill up the ditch. On war breaking out between the nations in 1778, it was again occupied by the British without opposition, but restored five years later. The French Revolution was in miniature imitated in Chandernagore by the mob going in search of the Governor (M. de Montigny) at his country house, Ghyretty, and bringing him back in triumph to Chandernagore, where he was kept in durance vile. Fearing the guillotine, the Governor appealed to the British, who soon quelled the disturbance. According, however, to another version, in the *Calcutta Gazette*, the chief (M. Fumeron) was for many months denied admission to the town by the people, who uniformly resisted his authority. So, "at length, seeing no hope of a change in the sentiments of those over whom he was intended to preside," he quietly embarked from Calcutta for Pondicherry.

Chandernagore was again occupied by the British in 1793, and in that year the *Calcutta Gazette* advertises the sale of some French Government property at the Arsenal, including the State palanquin. The town has remained in the possession of the French since 1816.

In the early sixties of the last century, M. Lepine, the town engineer, levelled the terrain of the Fort, demolishing what remained of the old buildings. He also straightened the boundaries of the Factory tank, and, through the site of the Fort, traced an alley still called "Avenue d'Orleans."

Among the tablets in the Church of the Sacred Heart is one recording the munificence of General Claud Martin, who left Rs. 50,000 in charity for the poor. Another tablet, on the pavement to the south of the church, commemorates Jean Henri Piron, who succeeded Raymond as Commandant-General of the French Corps in the service of the Nizam of Hyderabad, and who is often confused with the more celebrated Pierre Cullier Perron in command of Scindia's army. There are also tablets to Lord William Guillaudeu, of the Senate of the Rhine, Secretary of the King, etc., and to M'me Courjon.

The French, who in Bengal still own a few biggahs of land in Balasore, where their old Factory once stood, are wrongly stated by several writers to receive from the British three hundred chests of opium annually on condition that they do not engage in the manufacture of that drug, but the correct facts are that the original privilege was to draw out annually 300 chests of Opium from the Godowns of the British Government in

Calcutta *paying for them at the average rate* of the year's sales. That privilege was put up to auction at Chandernagore and purchased by Marwari speculators, and in the early sixties it realized up to Rs. 30,000; but, with the advent of submarine cables between India and China, the speculations in the drug became difficult and gradually the sale of the French privilege dwindled down to nothing and some years *it wasn't sold at all*. So, somewhere in the eighties, it was mutually agreed that the privilege should be commuted by a yearly payment of Rs. 5,000 from the British Government and the payment to the French Government of an annual sum of Rs. 4,00,000, on condition that they do not engage in the manufacture of salt in the French Settlements of the Coromandel and Malabar coasts.

The *Jaiuti* has swung round while we are ashore: the return to town in the cool of a cloudy afternoon is all too soon over. It is dusk when we reach the City of Palaces transformed between the twilights into a mighty purple of towered romance. The great warehouses and wharfs, looming up out of the gathering dark, are giants' castles now, and the ghâts leading from the water's edge the stepping-stones of kings. As we anchor, the bridge, black and cold and right to front, bars the way, and Asia is going to and fro up there upon the causeway. Being dusk it is between the twilights, and then, as you know, anything may happen. Who is this that steps out beside us on to the pontoon? Stand aside and let him pass. See how he carries himself with an air, and how courteously he takes our salutes though with a broken sword. Mighty dreamer! Mighty fighter! He has lost all save honour, but, that retained, what *has* he lost! Quick, look back to the river. They are heading for the passage through the bridge. It is a long slender feelchehra that swings by, elephant headed at the prow, and the oarsmen wear an Alipur livery. A lady, bravely wrapped against the evening chills is cushioned near the helm, and there is just light enough left to catch the gleam of gold in her ample tresses and time enough (for she is singing softly) the note of gold in her voice. Away they slide between the gaunt piers bearing the uplifted roadway—wondrous elephant, singing rowers, and golden girl. The swirl of the black implacable waters of the wicked river is with them on through the bridge and out into the beyond. *Telle est la Vie! Telle est la Vie!*

The Strand Road is almost impassable now for it is the eve of a great *poojah* day. The bandstand at the Eden Gardens is the centre of a great crowd of music lovers, the Red Road is alive with carriages; and Chowringhee, by the time we reach it, alight from Mosque to Paul's. Surely here is a Paris in the Orient, though as our hero dreamer would doubtless assert, on the wrong side of the river?

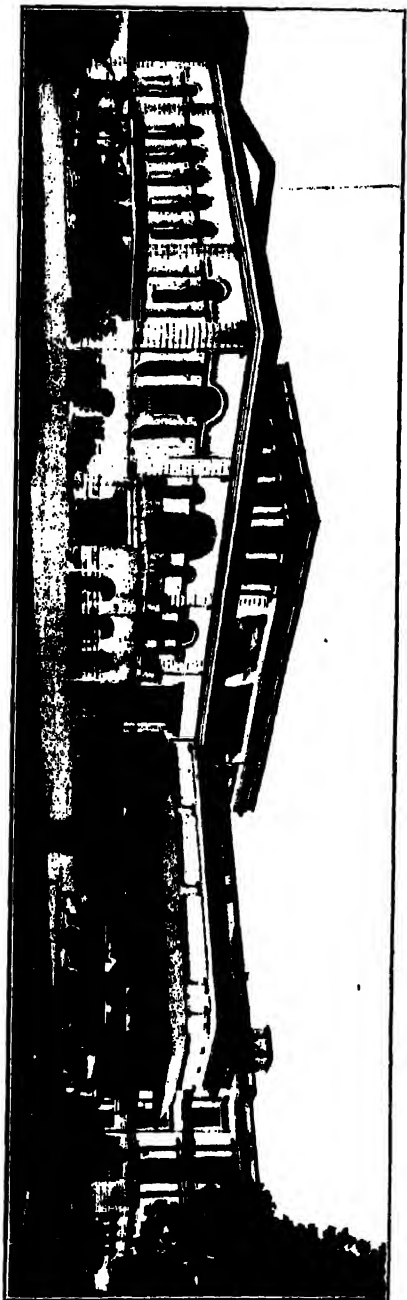
Leaves from the Editor's Note Book



IN the present issue of *Bengal : Past and Present* I have commenced a republication of the *Memoir of Colonel Thomas Deane Pearse*, which originally appeared in the now exceedingly scarce *The British Indian Military Repository*. This periodical was edited by Captain Samuel Parlbry of the Bengal Artillery, and the volumes, in which the *Memorial* appeared, are dated 1822-23. Every one who has visited Dum-Dum must have taken notice of the lofty column raised to Colonel Pearse's memory close to the present Church, which was erected nearly thirty-two years after the Colonel's death. The letters given in this *Memoir* throw so much light on the history of the times that, I am sure, our readers will be glad to have them in possession.

By the kindness of one of our members, I am able to include in this issue a reproduction of Mr. Arthur Norman's fine photograph of the Bengal Club Buildings, which during the last few weeks have been in course of demolition. It is, of course, unnecessary to remind the reader that the old house, which formed the nucleus of the building, was Lord Macaulay's Calcutta residence. The view of Chowringhee reproduced in this number shows us a bit of Calcutta which has undergone some considerable alteration of late years. The Mercury statue, referred to on p. 82 of Vol. 1 of *Bengal : Past and Present*, will be noted, and so also will be the Outram equestrian statue. The view of St. Paul's Cathedral, as it was on the occasion of our present King's visit, shows the building very differently arranged from what it is to-day.

IN my article on the "The Founder of Calcutta," in No. 2 of Vol. 1 of *Bengal : Past and Present*, I wrote (p. 197) "The date of the coming of the first English agents to Patna, Asoka's Pataliputra, has not been discovered. Professor H. Wilson has said that an attempt was made to establish a Factory at Patna in 1620, but Sir H. Yule could find no authority for this, and he adds that, in any case, such an attempt must have been made, from Surat through Agra long before the settlements were made in Bengal." The authority for Professor H. Wilson's statement is now forthcoming in the old letterbook of two merchants who found their way to Patna in the year 1620. The history of this attempt, made (as Sir H. Yule rightly conjectured) from Surat, is summarised by Mr. William Foster in his recent work, *The English Factories in India, 1612-1622*. The student of



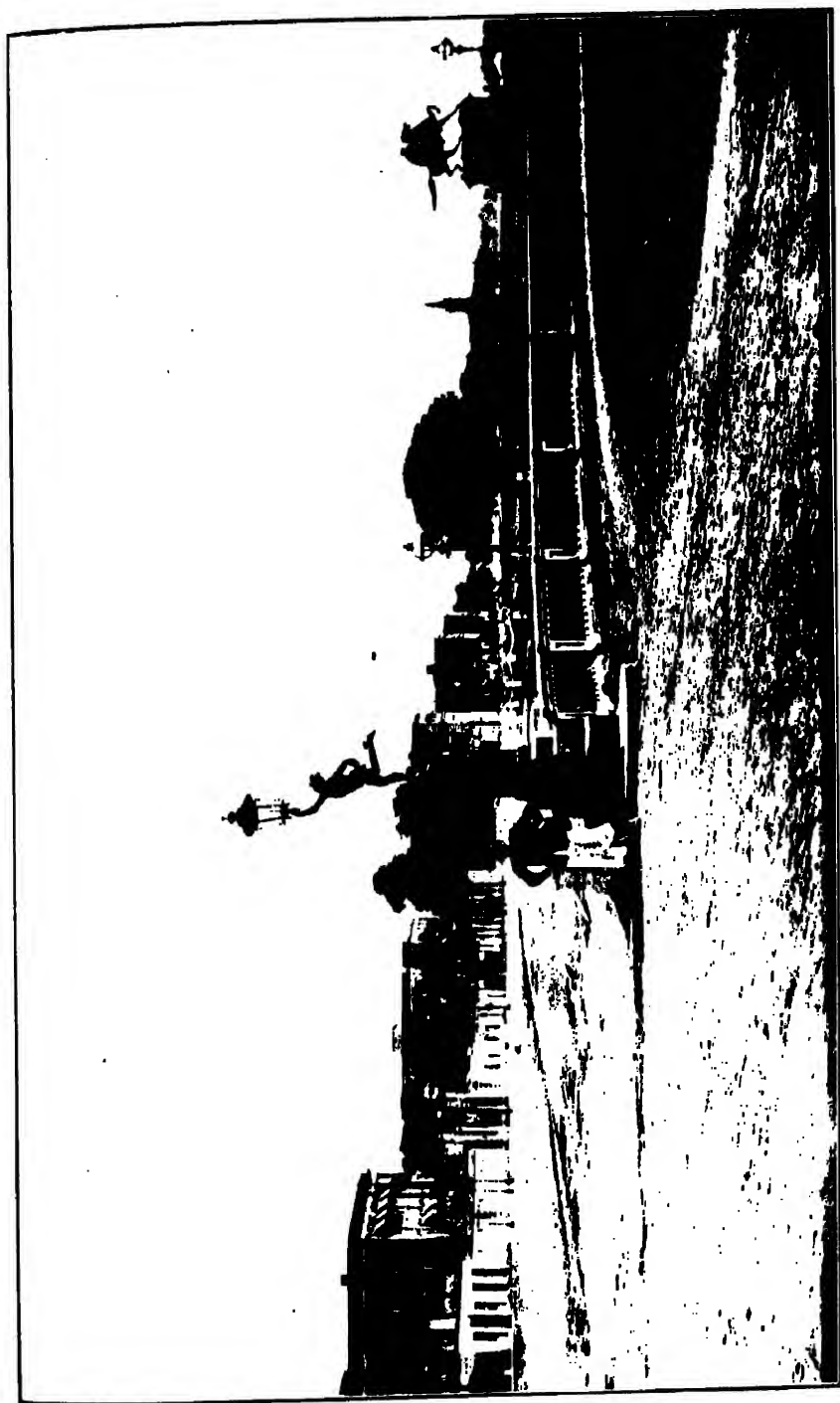
THE HONORABLE DISRAELI HOUSE OR
THE HONORABLE CLUB
A PORTRAIT OF WHICH WAS TAKEN AT MONTAGNA'S RESIDENCE
ON THE 10TH OF NOVEMBER 1877

history of the English in Bengal will find some most interesting materials in Mr. Foster's volume.

IN 1613, the English, on their way to Bengal, came to Orissa, and the story of the settlement at Balasore will be found in Dr. C. R. Wilson's masterly introduction to his none-too-widely-known, yet most deserving, book, *The English in Bengal*: but the story of the attempt to reach and exploit Bengal from the West of India has been, till Mr. Foster's book appeared, an untold tale. For the English merchants the attraction offered by Bengal was its silken goods and cottons: the only question was, would it not be in the long run cheaper to purchase the products of Bengal at Agra rather than to maintain factories on the spot? So early as 1619, the agents at Surat advised their brethren at Masulipatam: "As for trade in Bangala our masters have often require the attempts in expectation, itt seemes, of come profitable commodities thence for England, butt as the case standes, wee see not how it can as now be undertaken." However, an attempt was made, and I will proceed to give a letter from Robert Hughes and John Parker, at Patna, to the Company, dated November 30, 1620. (I modernise, as far as possible, the English).

"Your Worships in your last year's letter, dated the 18thth February and 6th March, 1618 [1619], sent by the *Charles*, *Ruby*, and *Diamond*, earnestly requiring quantity of commodities fitting England, and their provision to be made in such places as give best hopes, as well for attaining quantity as also their procuring to the best advantage for price, condition, etc., amongst sundry other new employments, thought on by the President and Council in Surat, after the dispeed of the *Lyon*, the last year, for England, they enordered some experence to be made in the parts of Bengal, for that by report it promised good store of callico, clothing, raw silk, etc., the commodities by your Worships most desired: for which cause they appointed Robert Hughes to be sent from the Agra Factory to Patna, the chieftest mart town of all Bengal, appointing him likewise an assistant then in Surat, who being long detained in Ahmadabad, for want of company to proceed for Agra, spent a great part of the year there; whereof we having notice in Agra, the time spending so fast, and the way between Patna and Agra somewhat tedious, it was thought requisite to dispeed Robert Hughes before, and the assistant to follow him upon advice of the necessity. And having accorded upon a competent sum of monies for some present trials, with bills of exchange importing 4,000 rupees, he departed (from) Agra the 8th June, and after 29 days travel arrived here in Patna the 3rd July, where having procured acceptance of his exchanges, and made some inquisition into the hope and good here to be effected, and upon good

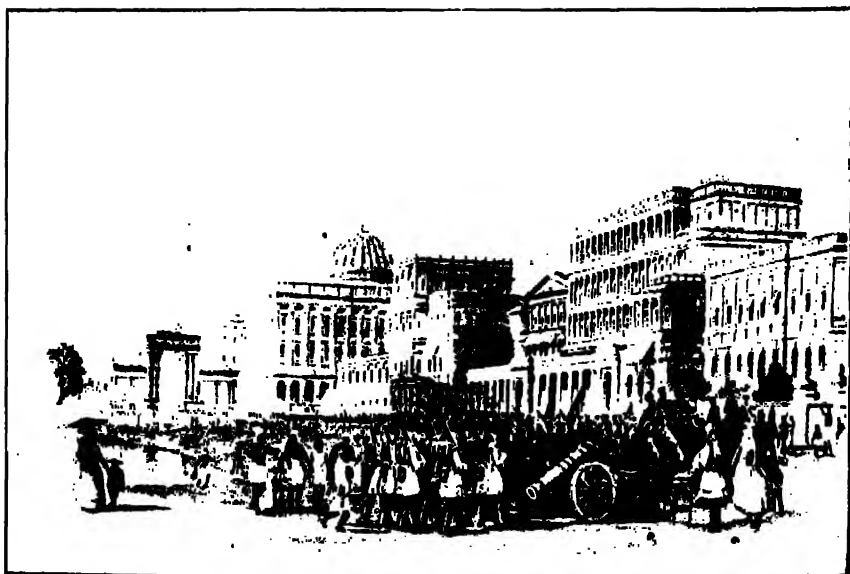
information being ascertained that this place to good purpose might be established a factory, he forthwith advised Surat and Agra thereof, and entrusted the sending of his assistant and by him some English goods, which in Agra lay unvendable, with more supplies of monies, to proceed in provision of what goods might possibly be compassed timely to be sent hence this year for Surat and England; of which advice and information the Agra factors approved, and in place of John Bagam, which was proceeded with Robert Younge for Lahore, they sent hither John Parker, and by him the goods advised for, who came hither about the midst of September; before and since whose arrival what we have effected in our provision, etc., we will proceed to give your Worships notice. Accounts of goods purchased and forwarded to Agra. The Amberty calicoes are made a days journey from this place in a pergana ("prigonye") or shier called Lackhower, where they are still to be bought of all prices, infinite quantities from the poor weavers which make them, brown of which there are three sorts, the first narrow breadths and are commonly called rasseys, generally coarse and few or none above two rupees net, the piece of about half a yard broad and 13 yards long; the next sort are called zefferconnyes, and at most may be one-fourth broader than the former, but much finer and of higher prices, from two to six rupees per piece; and the third and last sort the broadest and finest, known here by the name of Jehangeres, whereof some are a full English yard and few or none above. Neither can the weavers conveniently make them broader (as themselves say) to have them substantially and close woven. The best and cheapest course would be to buy them raw and have them bleached afterwards. Ten or fifteen thousand pieces might easily be procured. The finer sorts are a good sort of cloth having no fault but want of breadth. A thin cloth like callico lawn is also procurable in good quantities. Samples of raw silk sent. They can procure it cheaper than in Agra by 30 per cent., *vis.* Rs. $4\frac{1}{2}$ the seer of $33\frac{1}{2}$ pieces (which seer is near about $1\frac{1}{2}$ pounds English avoirdupois) against Rs. $5\frac{3}{4}$ the seer 30 pieces in Agra. The supply has been approved from Surat, and they hope to provide 300 maunds yearly. Amberty calicoes and raw silk are the two main props which must uphold this factory. They have sold most of their English goods to the Governor. The Portuguese, of late years, have had a trade here in Patna, coming up with their frigates from the bottom of Bengal, when they have two ports, the one called Gollye, the other Pieppullye and therein are licensed by this King to inhabit Gollye is their chiefest port, where they are in great multitudes, and have their yearly shipping both from Malacca and Cochin. The commodities they usually bring up hither is for the most part tin, spices, and China wares, in lieu whereof they transport amberty calicoes, carpets, and all sorts of their cloth, which they die into reds purposely



CROWKINGHILL ROAD, SOUTH, SHOWING THE LOST MERCURY STATUE.



LADY CANNING'S MONUMENT
IN
St. Paul's Cathedral, Cebu



A SOMEWHAT FANCYFUL VIEW OF THE ESPANADE EAST
AT THE TIME OF VISIT OF H. M. OUR PRESENT KING, EMPER

for sail to the southwards. This city stands up on the Ganges, whose swift current transports their frigates with such dexterity that in five or six days they usually go up to their ports, but in repairing up again spend thrice the time."

THIS letter is in itself of great interest. It is, as far as can be at present decided, the first business letter sent home by an English Merchant in Bengal to his employers beyond the seas. It deserves to be reproduced in *facsimile*. The place to which Hughes had been "dispeeded" was apparently Hajipur, on the other side of the river to Patna. "Hogreporepatamia" and "Hageepore-Puttana" are alternative names given to this place in the records: Patna is represented by "Puttana." The great weaving centre, Hughes' "Lackhower" is, Mr. Foster conjectures, the present Lukawar, about 50 miles south of Patna. "Gollye" is, of course, Hughli, and Pieppullye is Pippli in the Balasore district.

ROBERT HUGHES reached Patna on July 3, 1620, and was joined by John Parker in the following September. In the March of 1621, a "terrible fire" ravaged the city: the Factors' house and merchandise were destroyed. About the same time their Patron, Muquarrab Khan, was transferred to Agra, while Prince Parwiz, Jehangir's second son, became Governor of Patna. In June, the two Englishmen were dispossessed of their second home, and we find them "these ten dayes wandringe to cover ourselves and goods, thoughte but with grase to deebar the heate and raynes, now in excess." On September 13, 1621, Hughes left for Agra, he was followed by Parker a few weeks later; and the story of the first attempt of the English to found a factory at Patna, told by Mr. Foster with not a few interesting details, thus ends.

IN these letters we find references to the Portuguese emporium at Satgaon—"Satgonge" as Hughes calls it—and we hear a good deal about "quiltes of Satgonge wrought with yellow silk." We hear too of "Mueksoude" (*i.e.*, Maksudabad afterwards Murshidabad) and "Sideabaude (Saidabad)—places of hundred and thirty-six years later to loom large in Anglo-Indian History. As Satgaon is a place to which the Society proposes to make an expedition, I will venture to cite the account given by Cæsar Frederick, *circa* 1563—(English modernised.)

"I departed from Orisa to Bengal, to the harbour Piqueno, which is distant from Orisa towards the east a hundred and seventy miles. They go as it were rowing along the coast fifty and four miles, and then we enter into the river Ganges: from the mouth of this river go a city called Satagan, where the merchants gather themselves together with their trade,

are a hundred miles, which they row in eighteen hours with the increase of the water in which river it floweth and ebbeth as it does in the Thames, and when the ebbing water is come, they are not able to row in it, by reason of the swiftness of the water, yet their barks be light and armed with oars like to foistes, yet they cannot prevail against that stream, but forrefuge must make them fast to the bank of the river until the next flowing water, and they call these barks Bazaras and Patvas; they row as well as a Galliot, or as well as ever I have seen any. A good tides rowing before you came to Satagan, you shall have a place which is called Buttor,* and from thence upwards the ships doe not goe, because that upwards the river is very shallow and little water. Every year at Buttor they make and unmake a village with houses and shops made of straw, and with all things necessary to their uses, and this village standeth as long as the ships ride there, and till they depart for the Indies, and when they are departed, every man goeth to his plot of houses, and there setteth fire on them, which thing made me to marvel. For as I passed up to Satagan, I saw this village standing with a great number of people, with an infinite number of ships and bazars, and at my return coming down with my Captain of the last ship, for whom I tarried, I was all amazed to see such a place so soon raised and burnt, and nothing left but the sign of the burnt houses. The small ships go to Satagan, and there they laid.

"In the port of Satagan every year laid thirty or five and thirty ships small and great, with rice, cloth of Bombast of diverse sorts, Lacca, great abundance of suggar, mirabolans dried and preserved, long pepper, oyle of Zerzeline and many other kinds of merchandise. The city of Satagan is a reasonable fair city for a city of the Moors, abounding with all things, and was governed by the King of Patane, and now is subject to the great Mogul. I was in this kingdom four months, whereas many merchants did buy or freight boats for their benefits, and with these barks they go up and down the river Ganges to fairs, buying their commodity with a great advantage, because that every day in the week they have a fair now in one place, and now in another, and I also hired a bark, and went up and down the river and did my business, and so in the night I saw many strange things. The kingdom of Bengal in times past have been as it were in the power of the Moors, nevertheless there is a great store of Gentiles among them; always whereas I have spoken of Gentiles is to be understood idolaters, and whereas I speak of Moors I mean Mahomet's sects. Those people especially that be within the land do greatly worship the River Ganges, for when any is sick, he is brought out of the country to the bank of the river, and there they make him a small cottage of straw, and every day they wet him with that water, whereof there are many that die, and when they are dead, they make a heap

* Modern—Betor.

of sticks and boughs and lay the dead body thereon, and putting fire thereunto, they let the body alone until it be half-roasted, and then they take it off from the fire, and make an empty jar fast about his neck and so throw him into the river. These things every night I saw for the space of two months, as I passed up and down to the fairs to buy my commodities with the merchants. This is the cause that the Portugals will not drink of the water of the Ganges, yet to the sight it is more perfect and clearer than the water of the Nile is."

IN the last issue, I quoted Miss Bletchynden's account of the terrible wreck of the *Grosvenor*. I have since come across, in the notice of "the life and writings of the author" prefixed to Robert Orme's *Historical Fragments*, the following passage in a letter from the historian to Sir William Jones:—

"I must now ask your pardon and permission to speak on a matter which affects me to the very heart. The sad fate of the ship *Grosvenor* will have reached India long before this letter. My nephew, Mr. Hosea, his wife and child were among those who got ashore; and I have heard of them to the tenth day after the wreck; but beyond, to this hour nothing. Captain D'Auvergne, who arrived about three months ago from the Cape, says, there were accounts of more white people inland when he came away; but two ships, a Dane and a Frenchman, had been lost on the same coast; and nearly on the same part of it since the *Grosvenor* so that I am almost without hope of his safety. I am one of his attorneys in England and he has three children under our care, a boy and two girls, the eldest ten years old. Nobody knows anything of any will of Mr. Hosea being deposited in England; but it is scarcely possible that he should have left Bengal without making one and leaving at least a duplicate of it in India."

THE writer of the biographical note tells us that "when the dreadful news arrived of the loss of the *Grosvenor* Indiaman, in which his nephew and his family were passengers, it so extremely affected Mr. Orme, that it was a long time before even his superior mind could be reconciled to the event. In a letter to a friend, he says: 'my wretched health has been more impaired by this shock which for many days left me almost in a state of stupidity.'" The letter to Sir William Jones is dated, "Harley Street March 12, 1784." Of the three Hosea children here mentioned, the boy (William Orme) died, in the Hon. Company's service in Bengal, and one girl married a Lieut.-Colonel Sharpe and the other John Betsworth Trevanion.

IN the biographical notice of Orme, there is another interesting Calcutta reference. "Mr. Orme had, in 1750, commenced a very agreeable intercourse

and sincere friendship with Mr. Benjamin Robins, who had just then arrived at Madras from England, as Engineer-General of all the Company's fortifications in India ; and who immediately planned those of Fort St. David and Madras but did not live to finish them, though they were afterwards completed upon his plan. Mr. Robins died, with his pen in his hand, July 29, 1751, while in the act of drawing up for the Company some official statements. It was a little remarkable that, ten years afterwards, Mr. Orme on his arrival in England, should meet and form an acquaintance with three very intimate and learned friends of Mr. Robins, *viz.*, Dr. Henry Pemberton and Dr. James Wilson, associates of the late Sir Isaac Newton, and Mr. John Nourse, an eminent bookseller in the Strand, a man of great mathematical science, deeply skilled in the Newtonian philosophy, and who in early life had also the honour and happiness of being known to Sir Isaac. Mr. Nourse was at the time preparing for the press the learned works of Mr. Robins, under the care of Dr. Wilson ; who in a very critical and learned preface observes : 'These [Mr. Robins' abilities as an engineer] I have heard highly praised by many intelligent persons who have been upon the spot ; and what is still more, I have been informed [by Mr. Orme] that they were approved of by the brave Colonel Clive who, through the force of genius alone becoming a self-taught commander, has, with matchless conduct as well as valour, relieved our sinking affairs in those parts of the world.'

IN a footnote we are given the following information as regards Robins:—
 "Termed by Mr. Orme a man of great science and an honour to his country. Mr. Robins was the real narrator of Lord Anson's *Voyage Round the World* which carries in the title page the name of the Rev. Richard Walter, Chaplain of the *Centurion*." We find also, by the following letter from Lord Anson, that had Mr. Robins remained in England, he designed to have added a second volume to that work.

"Bath, the 22nd October, 1749.

"DEAR SIR,

"When I last saw you in town, I forgot to ask you, whether you intended to publish the second volume before you leave us, which I confess I am very sorry for. If you should have laid aside all thoughts of favouring the world with more of your works, it will be much disappointed ; and no one in it more than your very much obliged humble servant.

"ANSON,

"P.S.—If you can tell the time of your departure, let me know it."

I DO not propose to discuss Robins' career at length, for, although he is not noticed in the *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, his life is very fairly given

in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. The son of a poor Quaker at Bath, Benjamin Robins was born in 1707, and he died at Fort St. David, Cuddalore, in 1751. In the first volume of Dr. C. R. Wilson's *Old Fort William* will be found the instructions given by the Court in 1749 for the fortification of Calcutta which Robins was commissioned to carry into execution. He was to take rank as third in Council, and to remain in India till March, 1754. Dr. Wilson records that Robins arrived at Fort St. David on the *Grantham* on July 14, 1750, and left by the *Swallow* on February 10, 1751. On March 11th, we read of him as arrived at Calcutta, and "offered a house at 150 Madras rupees per month." But the visit to Calcutta was merely on flight.* Estimates for chunam and timber put in by the Master Engineer were duly passed, but he himself had to fly back to Cuddalore, and there he died of fever on July 29, 1751. Apparently, finding death hard on his track, Robins communicated to Orme some of the essentials of his intentions as to the fortification of Calcutta. In a letter written by Orme from Madras, 1754, we read :

"The Company's Settlement of Calcutta is situated upon a low of the River Ganges, the points of which are Salman's [Surman's] Garden to the Southward and Perring's Garden to the Northward. Our bounds extend inland in a kind of a curve too, the greatest distance of which from the River is about a mile and a quarter. About ten years ago, upon the incursion of the Morattoes, the merchants were so alarmed that at their own expense they proposed to dig a ditch round the bounds and of the earth to form a rampart within it, and accordingly in a hurry finished three-fourths of it. I believe there remains a mile to carry it down to the River, it having turned the southernmost angle of our bounds—though this ditch and rampart are no ways answerable to their intent of defending the bounds yet had they be finished quite down to the River as they are to the Northward with openings to the great roads which lead into the Town, it most certainly would have proved excellent means of laying with great exactness the customs on all inland importations. Mr. Robins told me, when he returned from Bengal, that he intended to carry on this ditch into the moat of the citadel he designed to be built a little above Salman's Garden ; and, by deepening it, proposed to make it defensible till the principal inhabitants with their most valuable effects could retire into this new Fort. So that, whether or no the engineer that succeeds Mr. Robins pitches upon the same place, it is evident that, with an eye only to the security of the colony, this ditch ought to be carried down to the river ; and, when the advantage and ease it will afford to all the imports on goods brought out of the country is likewise

* Major-General Scobles, in his *History of the Bengal Artillery*, wrongly surmises that Robins never visited Calcutta.

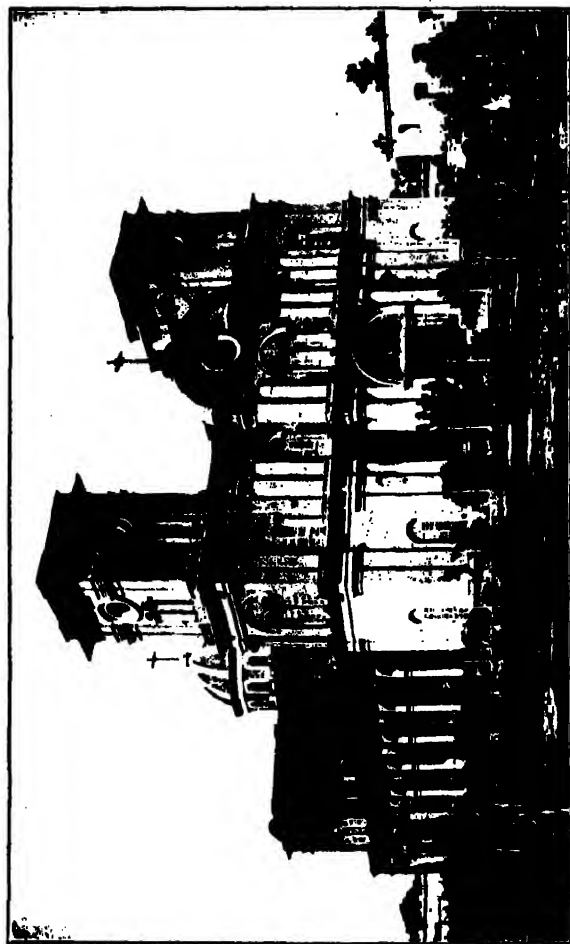
considered, I think there cannot be the least hesitation about executing it immediately."

THIS last quotation serves, I think, to show that, had Robins lived to carry out his plans, the new Fort William would have arisen on its present site some years before the disaster of 1756. But I will not continue the subject for the very satisfactory reason that I am expecting an article on the subject of the Engineers of Fort William from the lady who so kindly contributed to our first number an article on "The Northern Side of Tank Place." But before we say *au revoir* to Robert Orme, I think it would be worth while for us to remember that, although the Historian himself is not buried in the solemn Abbey, there are on its walls at least two inscriptions written by his pen—*viz.*, the monuments to Stringer Lawrence (the "Founder of the Indian Army") and to Sir Eyre Coote. "Echoes of Bengal in Westminster Abbey" would be a magnificent subject for a writer endowed with the knowledge of the late C. R. Wilson and the literary power of Washington Irving.

THE mention of Surman's Garden a little higher up leads me to ask the question: What has become of the late C. R. Wilson's Part II of Vol. II of the *English in Bengal*? In this Part II, we were, eight years ago, promised an account of the important Surman embassy, and the book was practically ready for the press at the time of Dr. Wilson's death. What, we are all asking, has become of the book?

MR. P. A. SELFE has sent me a photograph of the great Gola or Granary at Bankipore. From the Government "List of Ancient Monuments in Bengal" (August 1895) I excerpt: "This structure, consisting of a brick-building in shape of a bee-hive, was re-erected in 1786 as a storehouse for grain as part of a plan to guard against famines, the intention being to build such granaries throughout the district in which grain might be stored in years of plenty as provision against years of dearth. The granary at Bankipore was, however, the only one built in the district, and it was never filled. . . . The building at Bankipore is an enormous structure; the walls are twelve feet thick and are pierced by four doors, one to each side. Two spiral flights of stairs led to the top, where there is an opening for filling in the grain, which is closed with a stone slab. Over one of the doors is a marble tablet which bears the following inscription:—

'No. 1.—In part of a general plan ordered by the Governor-General in Council, 20th of January 1784, for the perpetual prevention of famines in these provinces, the granary was



CHURCH OF THE SACRED HEART, CHANDERNAGORE.



THE RT. REV. MGR. MAGLOIRE BARTHET,
of the Congregation de St. Esprit
CURE OF CHANDERNAGORE FOR 28 YEARS
AND FOUNDER OF THE CHURCH OF THE SACRED HEART
NEW INSUP IS ABIDE AND ASSIGNE 1890.

THE GRANARY AT HANFILLER,
1894. See p. 1, *Golden Rule*.



ROSE AYLMER'S TOMB.



erected by Captain John Garstin, Engineer. First filled and publicly closed by

"The Gola has never been filled, hence the space in the inscription still remains blank, and the building stands a useless monument of a mistake, inasmuch as the doors at the bottom open inwards."

The Calcutta reader will hardly need to be reminded that Warren Hastings caused a great granary to be built in Fort William. To quote the *List* again: "The Granary is now used as a store for the Military Works Department. Above it is the Military Prison which was built in 1871-72. The original building is 90½ feet broad by 127 feet long and is about 25 feet high. Each cross wall has four arched openings of 12 feet span. It is of brick in lime and the external walls are 5 feet 3 inches thick. The external walls have been cement plastered comparatively recently. After construction of the Military Prison, it was found necessary to strengthen the bay at the south-west end by tie rods and building up a cross-wall to support the arch. On the front of the building is a black-stone slab, 3 feet long by 20 inches high, with the following inscription:—

"This building contains 51,268 maunds of rice and 20,023½ maunds of paddy, which were deposited by order of the Governor-General and Council under the inspection and charge of John Belli, Agent for providing victualling stores to this garrison in the month of March, April and May 1782."

I HAVE received a copy of Mr. Shumbhoo Chunder Dey's excellent work the *Bansberia Raj*, which is issued by the Pooran Press but may be obtained from all well-known booksellers. Bansberia has so recently occupied a prominent place in the pages of *Bengal: Past and Present*, that only a few words are necessary to recommend this interesting work to our readers. The Society's visit to Bansberia was by no means the least interesting of our expeditions of last year, and, as the visit may be repeated, members are advised to procure Mr. Dey's work, which is well illustrated, and is sold for a very small sum. Mr. Dey is already favourably known to us by his *Hughly: Past and Present*; his new volume will sustain his reputation.

THE appearance of the present number has been delayed in order to admit of the inclusion of an account of the Society's visit to Chandernagore. The expedition was a most delightful one. The kindly message of welcome from the Administrateur, the warm-hearted hospitality of the Maire, and the skilled guidance of the Messieurs Lebeureux all contributed to the charm of our visit. Not one of us, I am sure, felt that our cheers for the *gouverneur cordiale*, the President of the French Republic, the civic authorities, and our other friends

at Chandernagore were mere formalities : we entered into them with right good zeal, voice, heart, and hand. The Expedition, thanks to the endeavours of Messrs. Leheureux and Mr. E. W. Madge, has been productive of some good results from the historian's point of view, and it has undoubtedly secured the correction of many common blunders in regard both to topography and historical facts.

To students of Old Chandernagore I would recommend the study of the history of Jean Baptiste Chevalier as a fine field for original research work. The first I can hear of him is about March, 1757, when M. Courtin, the French Chief at Dacca, was daily expecting his return from an adventurous visit to the King of Assam. The story of his fellow-sufferings with M. Courtin is told by Mr. S. C. Hill in his *Three Frenchmen in Bengal*. In II. Vansittart's *Original Papers Relative to the Disturbances in Bengal* (Vol. I, p. 5 *et seq.*) there is in 1759 a correspondence between Warren Hastings and W. B. Sumner, the English Chief at Dacca, and in it we find Chevalier as one among "others usurping the English name," and this highly truculent letter from Chevalier to "Meer Atta Oolla, Waladur of the Pergunah of Baharbund,"

"The letter, which you sent to my writer, I have received. You write that if I belong to the English, I must have the English Sunnud, and desire a copy of it to be sent to you. In answer I ask, who are you that I should send you a copy of the Sunnud? If you want to be informed who I am, and who sent me, send a man to the Chief who will answer you. If the people of your Pergunah are guilty of any insolence to mine, I shall chastise them handsomely for it. Forbid your people, that they enter with no quarrels with mine; if they do so without reason, they shall be punished; if my people behave ill to your's, do you write me word of it, and I will punish them."

THE Treaty of Paris (February 1763) brought to an end the Seven Years' War between France and England. By this Treaty, France, in return for the restoration of her factories, agreed to maintain no military establishment in India. Chandernagore, however, was not restored to the French till the 15th June, 1765. The year 1763 (the year of the Patna massacre and our final dealing with Mir Kassim) was a troubled one, and the French, perhaps, were in too sad a plight at once to claim their own under the Treaty. Throughout the year the English continued to grant monthly relief to their distressed French neighbours. On the list, in November, I find the name of Sinfray. Was this the stalwart leader of the French at Plassey? In this same year, the English sent a considerable number of their prisoners of war to the Isle of France for exchange. On the list I find a naval officer named Verlé—probably the father of Madame Grand. On 19th June, 1765, Chandernagore was handed over to John Law of Lauriston, who had returned to India in 1764

as "Chevalier of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, Colonel of Infantry, Commissary for the King; Commandant of the French Establishments in the East Indies." The situation still was not very cheerful; in the following September, Law writes that, owing to the ill treatment of his merchants by the native agents of the English, he is "in one of the most painful situations I ever felt." In May 1767, the name of Renault appears on our records as that of the Chief, and the name of Sinfray appears as one of his Council. According to the list of Governors, supplied by M. Deville to Lieutenant-Colonel Crawford, Chevalier became Governor in 1769. A number of his letters (copies) will be found on the Consultations of the Government. They relate chiefly to extortions alleged to have been practised by the British pilots, and to complaints as to the supply of opium.

THE story of the misfortunes of the French in Bengal, when the news of the outbreak of the war in Europe reached Warren Hastings, deserves to be told. Their troubles were, of course, aggravated by the temporary success of such a person as St. Lubin in his intrigues with the Poona Durbar. Chevalier evidently got early tidings of the intention of the English to take possession of Chandernagore. His good lady seems, as the following letter will show, to have played her part very well.

"FROM COLONEL DOW—

"HON'BLE SIR,—This morning at daybreak I invested the settlement of Chandernagore in the most secret manner possible, having crossed the troops at two different places above and below the town. As I could procure no intelligence of Mr. Chevalier last night, I took immediate possession of the garden house (at Ghyretti) with a company of sepoys. On my first demand I was informed he was in bed and that he would wait on me immediately. Three different messages were sent in writing to which the same kind of answers were received. When I forced my way towards the inner apartment, Mrs. Chevalier appeared, and requested, as her children were sick, that I would have further patience, and that Mr. Chevalier, who was dressing, would come out. Finding, however, that delay seemed to be intended for some particular purpose, I became more peremptory and was going to search the bedchamber, when a Monsieur Hanquart appeared in a *Star*, and assured me that Monsieur Chevalier was not in the house, nor in Chandernagore, but that he was Commandant of the garrison, and demanded for what I came in that hostile manner, which I explained. As it was impossible from the number of guards, which I placed round the house at daylight, that Monsieur Chevalier could have escaped from that time, I suspect that he has received previous intelligence, and has set out down the river in the night; but this is only surmise. I thought it, however, necessary to give you the earliest

intelligence of his escape that you may use the necessary means for apprehending him.

"Monsieur Hanquart, after much altercation, has consented to deliver up the place on the terms you proposed, which I stated to him; and I am now going with him from Garetty to put the troops in possession. I have left a Company of sepoys and an officer here, and shall order the house to be diligently searched, though I have little reason to hope that Monsieur Chevalier is concealed in it. Six or seven other gentlemen are here."

"I have the honour to be, etc.,

"GARETTY, 9 o'clock.

"ALEX. DOW, *Lieutenant-Colonel.*"

It will be seen, a little further on, in these Notes that Chevalier was captured at Cuttack by Alexander Elliot, but, for the while, the Government supposed that he had fled to Pondicherry. Here I will venture to give the form of *parole* entered into by Chevalier and Sanson (French Chief of Balasore).

We the under written Jean Baptist Chevalier, Knight of the Royal and Military order of St. Louis, Commander in Chief, for his most Christian Majesty of the French Settlements in Bengal, and Joseph Sanson, Chief for the French natives at Balasore, engage upon our word of Honor to proceed to Calcutta, and not to treat on the Road of any connection or political affair with the Chiefs and people of the country. In virtue whereof, we have signed this present act, reserving to ourselves to treat hereafter with the Governor and Council of Calcutta for the conditions and engagements which may concern the prisoners of war and their liberty.

Done at Cuttack the 2nd August 1778.

(Sd.) CHEVALIER.

(Sd.) SANSON.

A True Translation from the Original.

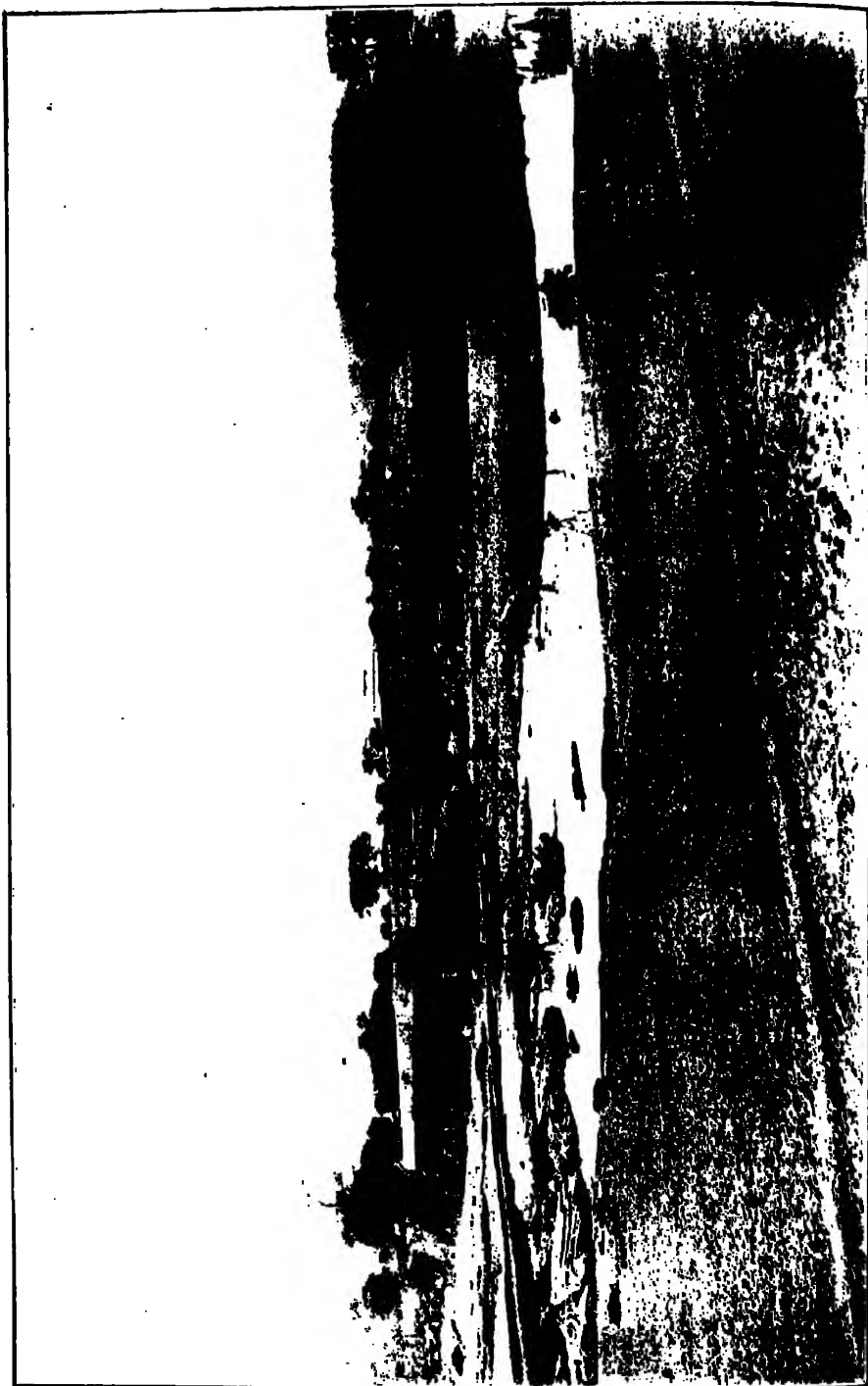
(Sd.) A. L. GILBERT,

French Translator.

It would seem that Warren Hastings, who must have over and over again enjoyed Chevalier's hospitality at Ghyretti, determined to let Chevalier off on the easiest terms. He granted him permission to return to France by a Danish ship *via* Suez. This concession evoked a strong protest from Francis and Wheeler. Francis seems to have thought that Hastings was far too easy going in regard to the French in Bengal. Here is the debate as recorded on the Consultations:—

"3rd December 1778.

"Having seriously considered the many bad consequences likely to arise from the permission, which I understand has been given to Messrs. Chevalier and Monneron to go to Europe by the way of Suez, I must express my opinion to the Board that such permission, if granted, should forthwith be



recalled, and that those gentlemen should be obliged to go to England by the way of the Cape. The resolution of the Board, with respect to Mr. Chevalier, was that for the sake of accommodating himself and his family he might be at liberty to take his passage on board a Danish ship. I desire that the opinion of the other members of the Board may be taken on this subject.

"(Sd.) P. FRANCIS.

"I agree with Mr. Francis that many bad consequences are likely to arise from the permission which has been given to Messrs. Chevalier and Monneron to go to Europe by way of Suez, and as that liberty was not (I conceive) implied in the Resolution of the "Board" with respect to them, I am against it.

"(Sd.) E. WHEELER.

"I have granted Mr. Chevalier, and many other French gentlemen, passports to go to Europe by way of Suez, under the faith of the general licenses granted by the Board. I know not what reason Mr. Francis may have for desiring to withdraw them, but cannot give my consent to it, and hope that the Board will pay that much attention to the credit of my authority as to reject a proposition so injurious to it.

"(Sd.) WARREN HASTINGS.

"When I made my objection to Mr. Chevalier's design, I was ignorant of the Government's being so far committed as to render my objection nugatory. Under the circumstances I must support the act of Government."

"(Sd.) R. BARWELL.

"The license given by the Governor to Mons. Chevalier and others to go to Europe by Suez are acts of his own opposed to the Resolutions of the Board, without whose authority there can be no act of Government. Going in this manner, Mr. Chevalier will have all the effects of an Express Messenger to France to give the French Ministry the earliest possible information of the state of India, and perhaps apprise them of the capture of Pondicherry before that is known in England. In his way he will undoubtedly make himself master of the navigation of the Red Sea, and probably form some scheme at Cairo or Alexandria for intercepting our packets coming or going through Egypt. If he has no such object in view, if he has no pressing motive of this kind to urge him to take the shortest route to France, why does he leave his wife and family to go round by the Cape, while he himself follows another course? In my opinion, the objections arising from these considerations, as to our suffering him to proceed by Suez, are unanswerable. I therefore protest against the license given him, as an act done without authority, and highly dangerous in the present circumstances to the interests of the Company and of the Nation.

"(Sd.) P. FRANCIS.

"I protest against the license given by the Governor-General to Messrs. Chevalier and others to go to Europe by Suez as an act done without authority, and highly dangerous, in the present circumstances, to the interests of the Company and of the Nation.

"(Sd.) E. WHEELER.

"My reply to Mr. Francis must consist of a denial of his objections. The licenses given to Mr. Chevalier and others to go to Europe by the way of Suez are 'not acts of my own opposed to the Resolutions of the Board,' for no Resolutions have been passed to forbid them.

"Mr. Chevalier's going in this manner will not give the French Ministry the earliest possible information of the capture of Pondicherry. I hope it will be known much earlier by our advices, which will not be a secret, nor can Mr. Belcombe be precluded from transmitting it, nor Mr. Chevalier neither.

"That he will undoubtedly make himself master of the navigation of the Red Sea and probably form some scheme at Cairo or Alexandria intercepting our packets coming through Egypt is a conclusion so foreign from any causes to which I can apply it that I shall not attempt to refute it.

"(Sd.) WARREN HASTINGS.

"I desire the Secretary will refer to the consultation in which it was first determined that Monsieur Chevalier should go to England on board one of the Company's ships, with that in which he was afterwards permitted by special indulgence to take his passage on board a Danish *Indiaman*. For the rest, I submit myself to the judgment of the Court of Directors.

"(Sd.) P. FRANCIS."

I cannot doubt that Warren Hastings had his way, and that J. B. Chevalier embarked at Serampore on board the Danish Ship *Nathalia*. Let Mrs. Fay tell us the rest of the story:—

"Several English merchants freighted a ship (*Nathalia*) from Serampore, a Danish settlement on the Hooghly, fourteen miles above Calcutta, whose Commander, Vanderfield, a Dane, passed for owner of the ship and cargo. Mr. O'Donnell, one of the persons concerned, who had property on board to the amount of above £20,000, came as passenger, as did Mr. Barrington, the real supercargo, also a freighter, and two Frenchmen, brothers named Chevalier. They left Bengal on New Year's Day 1779, and came first to Calicut, on the coast of Malabar, where they arrived in February: found English, French, Danish and Portuguese factors there and trade in a flourishing state; so, not apprehending any danger, they entered into a contract with one Isaac, a rich old Jew, who has great influence with the Government to freight them with pepper for Bengal on their way from Suez that being the

greatest town on the coast for that commodity. The price was settled and £700 paid as earnest. This business arranged, they proceeded on their voyage ; and, having luckily disposed of some part of the cargo at this place, reached Suez with the remainder in the beginning of June, landed their goods to the amount of £40,000, and prepared to cross the desert on their way to Cairo. The company, besides those already mentioned, consisted of Chenu, the second mate, with some officers and servants : in all, twelve Europeans, strengthened by a numerous body of Arabian guards, camel drivers, etc., for the conveyance of their property—more than sufficient in everybody's opinion, for no one remembered a caravan being plundered—for, although sometimes the wandering Arabs were troublesome, yet a few presents never failed to procure a release from them. Thus were they lulled into a fatal security, each calculating the profits likely to accrue and extremely willing to compound for the loss of a few bales, should they happen to meet with any strolling depredators, not even once supposing their lives to be in danger, or intending to use their firearms should they be molested.

“On Monday, the 14th June, they left Suez, and next morning at day-break had travelled about twenty miles (nearly one-third of the way), when the alarm was given of an attack, as they, poor souls, were sleeping across their baskets (or paniers). Captain Barrington, on awaking, ordered a dozen bales to be given to them immediately ; but, alas ! they (the Arabs) were already in possession of the whole, for the camel drivers did not defend themselves an instant, but left their beasts at the mercy of the robbers, who, after detaching a large body to drive them away with their burthens, advanced towards their passengers. Here I must request you to pause and reflect whether it be possible even for imagination to conceive a more dreadful scene to those concerned—particularly to Mr. O'Donnell, who from a concurrence of fortunate circumstances, had, in less than four years, realized a fortune of near £30,000, the bulk of which he had laid out in merchandise on the prospect of getting 30 per cent., and, as his health was in a very weak state, proposed retiring to Europe. What must that man have felt, a helpless spectator of his own ruin ? But this was nothing to what followed on their being personally attacked. The inhuman wretches, not content with stripping them to the skin, drove away their camels, and left them in a burning sandy desert, which the feet can scarcely touch without being blistered, exposed to the scorching rays of the sun, and utterly destitute of sustenance of any kind ; no house, tree, or even shrub to afford them shelter. My heart sickens, my hand trembles as I retrace this scene. Alas ! I can too well conceive their situation. I can paint to myself the hopeless anguish of an eye cast abroad in vain for succour ! But I must not indulge in reflections : let me simply relate the facts as they occurred. In this extremity, they stopped to

deliberate, when each gave his reasons for preferring the road he had determined to pursue. Mr. O'Donnell, Chenu, the Cook, and two others resolved to retrace their steps back to Suez, which was undoubtedly the most eligible plan. Of the remaining seven who went towards Cairo, only *one* survived. Mr. Barrington, being corpulent and short breasted, sunk under the fatigue the second day; his servant soon followed him. One of the French gentlemen was, by this time, become very ill, and his brother, perceiving a house at some miles distant (for in that flat country one may see a great way), prevailed on him to lie under a stunted tree, with his servant, while he endeavoured to procure some water, for the want of which the other was expiring. Hope, anxiety, and affection combined to quicken his pace, and rendered poor Vanderfield, the Danish captain, unable to keep up with him, which he most earnestly strove to do. From conflicting passion I wept myself almost blind as the poor Frenchman related his sufferings. Almost worn out with heat and thirst, he was afraid of not being able to reach the house, though his own life and that of his brother depended on it. On the other hand, the heart piercing cries of his fellow-sufferer that he was a dead man unless assisted by him, and conjuring him, for GOD's sake, not to leave him to perish now they were in view of relief, arrested his steps, and agonised every nerve. Unable to resist this solemn appeal, for some time he indulged him, till finding that the consequence of longer delay must be inevitable destruction to both, he was compelled to shake him off. A servant belonging to some of the party still kept on, and poor Vanderfield was seen to continue his efforts, till at last, nature being completely exhausted, he dropped, and was soon relieved from his miseries by death. Nor was the survivor far more enviable, when, having with difficulty reached the building, after which they had toiled so long, it proved to be an uninhabited shed. Giving himself up for lost, the French gentleman laid down under the shelter of the wall to await his last moment (the servant walked forward and was found dead a little further on). Now it so happened that an Arabian beggar chanced to pass by the wall, who seeing his condition, kindly ran to procure some water, but did not return for an hour. What an age of torture, of horrible suspense, for, if 'hope deferred maketh the heart sick,' the sensation must cause ten-fold anguish at a moment like this.

"The unhappy man was mindful of his brother, but, utterly unable to undertake the task himself, he directed the beggar as well as he could to the spot where he had left him with a supply of water. But, alas! all his endeavours to find the unfortunate men were ineffectual, nor were their bodies discovered. It is supposed that they crept for shelter from the sun into some unfrequented spot, and there expired. The survivor, by the assistance of the beggar, reached the hut of a poor woman, who kindly

received him, and through her care he was soon restored to strength, and arrived safely at Cairo after as miraculous an escape as ever human being experienced."

I must now take up the subject of Alexander Elliot once more ; and, first of all, I must give the concluding portion of the lengthy letter from Warren Hastings to his friend. It continues from the end of the first paragraph of page 238 of this volume of *Bengal: Past and Present*.

"We have a battalion of sepoys already stationed in the districts bordering on Berar, and another added to it would be sufficient to answer any purpose for which they might be wanted. It is impossible to foresee the circumstances on which our interposition may be demanded, or on which it could be honourably given, and therefore impossible to anticipate the mode of it.

"You are already well acquainted, however, with the general system which I wish to be established in India, namely to extend the influence of the British nation to every part of India not too remote from their possessions, without enlarging the circle of their defence or involving them in hazardous or indefinite engagements, and to accept of the allegiance of such of our neighbours as shall sue to be enlisted among the friends and allies of the King of Great Britain. The late Nabob Sujah Nowla, who wanted neither pride nor understanding, would have thought it an honour to be called the Vizier of the King of England, and offered at one time to coin *siccas* in His Majesty's name. Nor was this a mere visionary project ; the credit of such a connection with a power which has for a long time past made so considerable a figure in Hindustan would of itself be a great advantage. But I am afraid that his chief inducement arose from a great defect in our political constitution of which he had severely felt the bad effects ; I mean the rapid succession of persons entrusted (under whatever name or character) with the rule and administration of the British affairs in this part of our Indian possessions ; the consequent want of consistency in their measures, and even in their attachments and engagements ; and the caprices to which he was so often exposed on the same account. Had he possessed the spirit of foresight, he would have severe cause for these reflections in the miserable state of penury and servitude to which his son has been since reduced, ineffectually to our interests as every excess of our power beyond its proper bounds will ever defeat its own purposes. Nor indeed has the son such cause to complain of an injury, which he has scarce sense or sensibility to discover ; although it must be redressed, whenever that state has a more worthy ruler, and the sovereignty restored with all its rights unimpaired to this lawful proprietor. But I wander from my subject. My intention in this digression is to show the advantages which would be derived both by Government and its allies from a direct engagement made with the sanction of the King's name, which would secure it from wanton and licentious violation, and render the subjects of it more certain and durable.

"On this footing I would replace the subaship of Oude. On this footing I would establish an alliance with Berar. These countries are of more importance to us than any other from their contiguity to ours, and therefore it is of consequence to settle their connection with us before that of any other. But the same system might be rendered more extensive by time, and by the observance of a steady principle of conduct, and an invariable attachment to personal engagements.

"I will not here enumerate all the advantages, which may be derived from this plan, to you especially, to whom I have long explained personally my views and sentiments upon

this subject. Indeed, except a short and rather obscure intimation of it in one of my letters to Lord North, I have communicated it to no person but Colonel Maclean and yourself; and that is my principal reason among others for having written to you rather than anyone else upon the various points contained in this letter. To enable me to carry it into execution, I must be released from the restrictions which I at present lie under; I must have discretionary powers, and a fixed channel of correspondence.

"I shall follow the subject no further, but leave it here to your discretion to make such use of it as you shall judge most likely to prove effectual to its execution or to suppress it. I am aware that I tread on dangerous ground, exposed to the ill-will of the Company, if they look to the renewal of their charter, and to all the popular and rooted prejudices which are entertained against the expansive projects of military enterprise, and the injustice of disturbing the peace of our quiet neighbours; for this construction will be given to it. To answer these and the other objections to this plan would require much time and argument; but though this might be necessary to the support of a proposition calculated for the public eye, it will not be wanted on this occasion as I hope it will only be seen by those who are to adopt it, and to whom its obvious consequences will need little explanation. I trust it to you in confidence, a desire that you will impart it with the same caution, that I may not suffer by the attempts to raise the power of my country, and to extend the influence of the King's name among nations to which it is yet unknown, if the means which I have recommended should be judged inadequate to such laudable ends, or impolitic with respect to other circumstances. Of their justice and moral propriety I have no doubt. I am ever, my dear Elliot, your most affectionate friend."

THE next letter, which I quote, brings out in the most striking way the implicit confidence, which Hastings, at that time about forty-five years of age, and after twenty-seven years of the most arduous not to say desperate service in Bengal, reposed in a youth who, had he been bent on an ecclesiastical career, would have not as yet have reached the age at which he could have been canonically admitted to the order of the diaconate. In a letter dated 10th February, 1777, Hastings writes:—

"I cannot even communicate a subject of this nature through any official channel. If I write to the Secret Committee, they are too many to be entrusted with it. They may not all be disposed to receive a proposition from me with candour; and bodies of men, however small, are always indifferent to the business which is brought regularly before them. I cannot write to the Chairman, because in the first place I know not who he is; and in the second because both gentlemen who hold the first stations in the Direction at this time, are as I understand my professed enemies, and would be therefore more likely to draw conclusions from what I wrote to my disadvantage than to adopt my recommendations. Neither can I approach the King's minister on such an occasion without some preparatory caution, in which his leisure, his inclination, and the ability of the times should be consulted.

"It is impossible for me to foresee what may be the dispositions in England when this letter shall arrive. It is equally impossible to reconcile the different orders, which the Court of Directors last year gave us for our conduct towards the powers of India. They desire us upon no account to enter into any wars, however advantageous to the Company, and they, at the same time, direct us to co-operate with the Presidency of Bombay in keeping

possession of the lands which Ragobah ceded to them by treaty. The first is an absolute prohibition to interfere in the politics of India. The last is a positive order to interfere, and engage in a war with the first power in India.

"Being thus at a loss to judge of the views of the Court of Directors, I am still more so to judge of those of the King, to the knowledge of which I have no access. I must therefore leave it to you to consider well the depositions of the times and of the ministers. If you have reason to believe that such a system as I have recommended will be approved, I trust to make use of such means as you shall judge most likely to promote it. If, on the contrary, men's minds are adverse to the extension of our influence, you had best say nothing about it, as it can serve no useful purpose, and may be turned to our disadvantage."

IT is impossible, at Calcutta, to determine what use Alexander Elliot made of these letters. Was he granted direct access to George III? Did Lord North ever see the first of the letters of Warren Hastings I have quoted? Did Elliot return to Calcutta with a mandate to carry Hastings' policy into execution? The Home Records may some day supply the answer; but, for the present, all that can be said is that Elliot, shortly after his return to Bengal, went forth on a mission to Berar, which, although defeated by his untimely death, was pregnant with the full consequence of the British Empire, and entitles the hero, whose mortal remains lie at Sarangarh, to his place in the history of the builders of British Indian Empire.

AND now I must travel back to page 229 of the present volume. "The fact is," I wrote last April, "that, while at Marsailles the ever vigilant Elliot had been apprised of a new design to re-establish in India all that had been lost to the French at Wandewash. The story of this discovery must be reserved to a future issue of *Bengal: Past and Present*." It is exceedingly unfortunate that the date and place from which this letter was written cannot be ascertained in Calcutta, but by kind permission of the Government of India, I am enabled to print it here from a copy taken at the Imperial Records Office. The original is probably in the British Museum collection of Hastings' MSS.

"Having been fortunate enough to obtain some intelligence before I left Europe in which the interest of the East India Company and the influence of Great Britain in India appear to me to be deeply interested, I think it be incumbent on me to take the earliest opportunity of communicating it to your Honourable Board. I am concerned, at the same time, to be under the necessity of laying the facts only before you, without having it in my power to point out the channels through which the intelligence was conveyed to me, as my promise was most particularly taken before I was myself entrusted with it, that I should conceal the names of the persons from whom I received the information. It was not without some difficulty that I obtained permission to inform the Governor-General and Sir John Claverling of this material circumstance, and that only upon condition that they should not trust it to the

records of the Company, however secret they might be. The opinions which these gentlemen must form as to the authenticity of the facts which I now propose myself the honour of laying before you, will be a sufficient justification of me for addressing you in this letter.

"It appears by the information to which I allude that Mons. Sartine, (*sic*) *Minister de la Marine* of France, has concerted with three or four of the principal Ministers of that country, a scheme the object of which is the total overthrow of the English interest in India; that he was sensible the force which France could herself bring against our settlements would prove insufficient for so great an undertaking, and had, therefore, thought it necessary to the completion of his views, to begin by intriguing with the country powers, and by endeavouring to secure them in the interests of France in opposition to those of Britain; that for this purpose it was resolved to send a person to India with full powers in the character of an agent, and likewise to send out persons who in the information are called *des exorcismes*, to discipline the natives of India, and a considerable quantity of arms and military stores. The person who was nominated to this office was described to me as one who had before been in India. He was to go to Pondicherry first; but to assume no public character, that he might not be subjected to the suspicions of the English. He is furnished with letters from the Court of France to all the country princes of any note in India, to be used at his own discretion. He likewise carries out presents of considerable value, which he is to distribute as he may judge necessary. The substance of his instructions is as follows: To treat with such of the country powers as he may have reason to think will most readily assist the views of France, and to form alliances with them in the name of the King of France. To endeavour to persuade the country powers to fall upon the English Settlements, and he is authorised to promise, such as will accede to his proposal the warmest support of his nation—secretly till hostilities are actually commenced, and then openly. He is warned, however, in his instructions that France is not to take the lead in the war, but is to come in as an assistant only. The person from whom I learned these particulars knew for certain that the agent sailed from Marseilles in the beginning of April last, but was unacquainted with his name, and unable to inform me for certain what route he had followed to India, but seemed to be of opinion that he must have passed over to Alexandria, in the intention of embarking at Suez for India.

"Having informed you of what I venture to say may be relied on as authentick, it will not be misplaced to add an account more in detail of some inquiries which my knowledge of the above circumstances led me to make, which though by no means so successful as my zeal on this occasion would make me wish, will not, I flatter myself be deemed unworthy of your notice.

"A circumstance which I learned from Colonel Capper, who had passed through Egypt in February last, and was confirmed to me by Mr. Dighton, who was in his company, rendered it very probable that the Agent had passed through that country on his way to India. That the French Consul at Cairo was in daily expectation of the arrival of a ship at Cairo, when they passed through that town, and I was told by Mr. Baldwin, an English gentleman residing at Cairo, that, when an account was brought of a ship being seen off Tor in the Red Sea, which afterwards proved to be the *Swallow* sloop of war, the French Consul said in his hearing that he was sure it was a French ship as he had certain intelligence that one was despatched from India which should arrive about that time. I was assured nevertheless by three or four French merchants at Cairo, from whom I made inquiries on this subject, that they never had had any expectation of seeing a French ship at Suez, and I learned at Mocha that there has not been a single French ship in the Red Sea this year. In passing through Marseilles, I made all the inquiries that I could without rendering

myself suspicious, but could learn nothing of any consequence, but that some ships had sailed from that port early in the year for India. As there was no ship to sail from Suez under three weeks or a month after my arrival at Cairo, I had an opportunity of tracing a gentleman who had left Cairo a few days before my arrival, and who in many particulars answered to the description given to me of the French Agent on the other side of the water. It appears from the intelligence which I received, which was principally derived from Mr. Baldwin, and partly from the gentlemen of the French Factory in Egypt, and from a Turk whom I shall afterwards have occasion to mention more particularly, that early in April, a French gentleman wearing a cross and calling himself the Chevalier de Montagnii, arrived at Cairo from France. It was reported, on his first arrival, that he was going to India, but, after having staid at Cairo about a month, that report was entirely dropped; and, upon my asking the question of the French Consul, was positively contradicted. He associated but little with the gentlemen of Cairo—which is uncommon where the society of Europeans is so small.

A Venetian gentleman and a Janissary, who attended upon the Chevalier, informed Mr. Baldwin and myself that he had a Persian master whilst at Cairo, and used to study that language great part of the day. With some difficulty the man, a native of Damascus, with whom he had studied, was traced, and I had an opportunity of conversing with him more than once. From him I learned that the Chevalier had studied Persian with him about six weeks or two months from his departure from Cairo, that he understood the language a little before he came to Egypt, and was able to converse in it, though not without some difficulty, that he brought Persian books with him from France, the names of which were mentioned to me, and had likewise many Persian letters, which upon questioning the Turk, I found were letters from Hindustan, as their Alcabs or complimentary addresses are used in Hindustan only, and that his attention was given more to these than to the books, and that he informed this man he was going to India, and offered him advantageous appointments if he would accompany him, which from apprehension of the danger of a sea voyage was refused by the Turk. About the 10th of June, he went away from Cairo in a very secret manner, taking leave of no one, as is always customary amongst the Europeans at Cairo, which was not only observed as a singularity by Mr. Baldwin and the Venetians, but likewise by the French merchants, who expressed their astonishment at what they deemed a want of politeness. It is observable that he left Cairo the day after the arrival of a mail from France. Mr. Baldwin would have remained ignorant of his departure, as the Chevalier had not been visible for a month before, had he not by mere accident seen a considerable quantity of baggage going out of Cairo, which upon inquiry he found to be his, and he was then told by the Arabs, a body of whom always escort travellers across the desert, that they were going to Suez. The air of mystery with which everything was conducted that had any relation to this gentleman, led Mr. Baldwin to be more particular in his enquiry and the Custom Master, a native of Egypt, and who could consequently have but little idea of the jealousy subsisting between the two nations, observed that there must be something very particular in this gentleman, who though there were four English vessels at Suez, could not be persuaded to embark in one of them for India, where he was going, but was resolved to go to Jeddah or Mocha on a boat in which he was subjected both to danger and delay. I cannot help dwelling a little upon this circumstance, because it seems to be a strong presumptive proof that the Chevalier is in some shape employed by the Court of France. It was necessary to apply to the Custom Master from his office for a country boat; and he was the person whom I conjecture advised him to embark on board an English vessel, and unless the Chevalier's dislike to this mode had been expressed in a

manner very marked, it is not probable that a native of Cairo would have drawn such a conclusion from it. The misfortune which befel Monsieur Grand Maison and the seizure of his papers after his death on board the *Terrible* is a circumstance with which your Board must be acquainted, and of which the Chevalier could not be ignorant, as I myself heard it related at Cairo, after which it is not to be wondered at if he would not trust himself in an English vessel. The last circumstance which I learned at Cairo seems to be the most conclusive, which is that he was furnished with a very large credit by the Court of France, and this circumstance I rely upon as authentick, because I was informed of it by a French merchant at Cairo, and likewise by a French *renegado* at Suez, who learned it from the Chevalier's own servant. It will not be misplaced here to observe that Monsieur Grand Maison had a similar credit for ten thousand Venetian sequins, about £4,000. When I enquired whether it was customary for the Court of France to grant such credits, the French gentleman who informed me of it seemed sensible that he had committed an imprudence, and said that he imagined the Chevalier de Montagnii was employed by the Court as a man of literature and knowledge to make a journey into Egypt. Upon my arrival at Suez, I found that the Chevalier had been there, and not being able to find a boat that would sail with him in less than three weeks, had made a journey to Mount Sinai, from whence he returned a few days before my arrival at Suez and had sailed for Jeddah about the 18th of July. I thought it worth while to enquire whether he had used any mathematical instruments in his excursion to Mount Sinai, and was assured by the Arabs who accompanied him, that he had carried none with him having left his baggage at Suez. Had he been employed as a literary traveller, he certainly must have used instruments. The servant told the *renegado* that he was a traveller of curiosity and meant to go from Jeddah to Mecca; this was not possible as he embarked avowedly as a Christian, and it is notorious that the Mahometans allow no Christians to approach a city which they esteem so holy, and which they would conceive to be polluted by the presence of those whom they call infidels.

I have thought it necessary to be very minute in the account of what I was able to discover relative to this gentleman, because it appears to me that he must be employed by his Court in some shape or another, though there are many circumstances which render it probable that he is not the person entrusted with the commission mentioned in the first part of my letter. Though the French title of Chevalier is a title which carries little or indeed no importance in it in any part of Europe it is not so common in India, and if the Chevalier de Montagnii should turn out to be the agent, the Court of France will certainly in some shape have departed from their original plan which was to give him as little external consequence as possible. I was likewise told at Cairo that he is himself a Major in the army, and the son of a person who either is or has been a Fermier-General, and that his family by a late promotion became *noblesse*. There is one part of the intelligence I received at Cairo which does not agree with the information given me in Europe, as it was positively asserted that he had never before been in India, though the truth of this assertion may be doubted, as his talking Persian and his being in possession of Indian correspondence are sufficient reasons for suspecting that he had been there. One French gentleman went so far to say that he was a man, *qui vouloit se donner du merite envers les Bureaux*. If the Chevalier de Montagnii had been entrusted with so important a commission, it is very extraordinary that a vessel should not have been ready to receive him at Suez, and none having come into the Red Sea in the course of the whole year affords a strong presumption that he is not the person, though it by no means amounts to a proof as many possible accidents may have occasioned such a mistake; and, it must be observed on the other

hand, that the French Consul who is the national-agent there assured himself that one would arrive. The French merchants disagreeing with him in this expectation leaves room to conjecture that the ship he expected was employed by the Government, and not upon a trading vessel as he is himself restricted from trade. On the whole I doubt not your Hon'ble Board will deem the appearance sufficiently strong to think it worth while to take some steps to clear up whatever may appear doubtful about this gentleman, and as it is possible, and indeed likely that he may assume another name and character upon his arrival at Mocha, I made particular enquiries about his person, and venture to add, however useless it may be, the description I received of it. He is short in his stature, stoops much, and looks down when he is speaking with any one; his hair is brown and his complexion inclinable to be dark; his legs are remarkably ill-proportioned being nearly as thick at bottom as at top. He is accompanied by an European servant, who is a stout, tall man.

He will in all probability make an exceeding long voyage down the Red Sea, and will not be able to reach Mocha till the latter end of August: he will find no French ship at Mocha, and will be reduced to the necessity of embarking on board the *Alexander*, an English ship trading in the Red Sea, or of going overland to Muscat on the Persian Gulph, journey not to be performed without much difficulty and great delays. It is, however, possible that he may arrive in time enough to sail in a Portuguese ship, which intended to sail from Mocha to Surat about the 20th of August. At any rate, I think it is not possible that he should be landed in any part of India before the end of October.

UNFORTUNATELY, in placing this letter on the Consultations of the Secret Department (February 2, 1778), the copyist omitted to give the date and place at which it was written. It is clear that the letter was written before Elliot had heard of Sir John Clavering's death, which took place August 30, 1777, when the former was on his way back to India. "Before I left Europe" shows that the letter was written after May 1777. On April 6, 1778, Warren Hastings, in a Minute, refers to "Mr. Elliot's letters which he [*i.e.*, Elliot] circulated amongst the members of the Board." This, I conjecture, shows that the letter was probably written from Suez but brought to Calcutta by the writer himself. The information of Sartines' designs was in itself sound, but Elliot was too late in the field. He left England in May 1777, but St. Lubin, the actual emissary had reached Chaul on March 16, and was playing mischief at Poona in May. The letter, although it records a hunt on a false scent, gives striking proof of Elliot's magnificent zeal. Warren Hastings, in his minute of April 6, 1778, endeavours to connect Elliot's discoveries with the official accounts received from Bombay of the doings of St. Lubin at Poona, but it is clear that the person whom Elliot went in search of was not St. Lubin. That mysterious person left France on a private trading vessel chartered for a voyage to China, and he would have gone round the Cape and not entered the Red Sea.

ALEXANDER ELLIOT left England on his return journey to India on either May 13 or May 14, 1777. Welbore Ellis writes on the first of these dates to Francis :—"Mr. Elliot proposes to go overland from Alexandria to Suez, which has been found so convenient and expeditious a road, that I believe the intercourse will be very frequent by that channel, especially as I understand that the Company have ordered two vessels to be employed as packets alternatively from that station." The letter concludes "Mr. Elliot sends me word that he is to set out this evening or early to-morrow morning."

A LETTER relative to Elliot's return voyage is worth placing on record.

Fort William, October 6, 1777.

HON'BLE SIR AND GENTLEMEN,

Having been entrusted with a packet for your Government by the Hon'ble Court of Directors for which I gave a receipt in form and having been put to a considerable extraordinary expense on account of the Despatch with which I thought it incumbent upon me to convey it, I take the Liberty of requesting you will reimburse me in the Expenses I have been at. I beg leave at the same time to observe that my claim is founded upon custom in such cases and that the Bearer of a Packet to Madras of a subsequent date to my Departure from London has been allowed five hundred pounds for his Expenses though he was not obliged to freight a ship from Marseilles to Alexandria as I was. I hope you will not think I am unreasonable in charging four thousand rupees for the whole of my Expenses as my Voyage across the Mediterranean alone cost me two hundred pounds.

I have the honour to be

With much Respect,

Hon'ble Sir and Gentlemen,

Your most obedient and most humble Servant,

ALEX. ELLIOT.

AFTER his return, Elliot was much occupied in the endeavour to bring about an understanding between Hastings and Francis. On the very day after Elliot's return we find Francis recording "September 30th, Visit from Elliot. Sly devil!" Early in December, Edward Wheler, the new member of the Supreme Council, arrived in the *Hughli*. The anxiety of either party to secure this important ally led to a rather ludicrous consequence. Francis sent his friend Livius with carriages to meet Wheler at Budge Budge and bring him up to Calcutta; the Governor sent Elliot with carriages, and Barwell sent his state coach. Francis records this on December 6, and then on the 11th he notes "in spite of all Mr. Elliot's courtship and artifices, Wheler passes by Budge Budge and lands at Calcutta, immediately visits me, and takes his seat on the Board." Francis rightly characterises Wheler's conduct as a gross affront to the Governor-General, but perhaps Livius may have seen in it something of a snub for his patron also. It must be remembered that at this time the Supreme Court was taking action calculated

to unite the Council in resistance to the Judge's pretensions. It might have seemed that the prospect of an *entente cordiale* between the two rivals in the Council was within the range of practical politics, but it was not so. The following extracts from the *Memoirs of Sir Philip Francis* will carry us on from these hopeless attempts at negotiation to Elliot's final mission.

"*December 17th.*—Elliot waited on him [Wheler] last night with a formal embassy from H.; that he, W., should make a public declaration of his own moderation, etc., and convey to me a plan of accommodation. He only mentioned two of the articles proposed: to declare the Nabob of age, *i.e.*, to remove Mahomed Reza Cawn, and to make a settlement for 1778 on the present footing. My answer is that I can enter into no compacts, but repeat what I have often told him that if he will conduct the Government moderately and without innovations, I have no objection. Meet Elliot at Mrs. Hyde's; he desires a conference, fixed for to-morrow evening.

"*December 18th.*—Wheler absent. I begin to suspect that his illness is political.....Elliot comes at 6. His talents for negotiation are really considerable, formed under the tuition of Maclean. He proposes an avowed coalition with Hastings, and for this purpose he offers me any personal terms I can desire. Among other things, he asserts that this is the wish of people in power at home, and that nothing can do me more credit, and that it is Wheler's disposition; and that if I consult him, he will tell me so. I absolutely reject the idea of union, but declare my resolution to stand purely on the defensive dissenting when I disapprove in order to clear myself of all responsibility. I shall give him my answer to-morrow.

"*December 19th.*.....I meet Elliot everywhere. Offer to send my answer in writing, which he declines. In the evening give him a short flat negative."

ON Sunday, July 12, 1778, Elliot went to bid farewell to the author of the *Letters of Junius* in the garden where a little more than twenty years after William Makepeace Thackeray would be playing with his nurse. It was then, on his last Sunday in Calcutta, Elliot revealed, "unadvisedly" says Francis, the extent of Hastings' "present plan." "Ragoba is to be set aside; the Government of the Peishwa and Ministry to be demolished. Moodaje Boosla constituted Sovereign at the commencement of a French war! A great deal of cajolery, as usual, from Elliot." On July 17, J. P. Auriol, "with great affectation of mystery, and despatch, etc.," brought to Francis Elliot's Instructions, and Francis at once drew up an hostile minute, which he sent on to Wheler. "We agreed," he says, "in suspecting Hastings of the

worse designs." Pity and contempt are blended in Hastings' comment: "Francis and Wheler have protested against Elliot's instructions. Francis in good language, but abundantly weak in argument: Wheler, poor fellow, has not yet got hold of the subject." The discovery of Hastings' plans to Francis that Sunday at Alipur—so unadvised as Francis thought—looks very much like a mark of the Proconsul's contempt for the faculties of his would-be rival. On July 20, 1778, Hastings wrote to Impey: "Elliot is gone. A most critical service, but likely to prove the era of a new system in the British Empire if it succeeds." Elliot was to die before reaching his destination: but the system, which his mission inaugurated, has in other hand realised to the full the expectations of its mighty author.

THE nature of the Alexander Elliot Mission to the Mahratta Court of Berar has been fully indicated in Warren Hastings' lengthy letters already quoted. In a few words, Elliot was, in anticipation of the later policy of Subsidiary alliances, to form an Alliance with the Berar House as against the Poona House, which was under the influence of Nana Parnavis and the French. It cannot be too much regretted that Mr. G. W. Forrest, in his *Selections from the Letters, Despatches and other State Papers preserved in the Foreign Department of the Government of India*, has allowed the subject of Elliot's mission to slip out of consideration. It is far too big a subject for me to attempt even to sketch in the casual "Leaves from the Editor's Note Book," but it is one which deserves the attention of the historian. The documents, which, by the kind permission of the Government of India, I am now able to give for the first time to students of Anglo-Indian History, will be of value to those who, unlike myself, have some opportunity of making use of original research. I am afraid they will prove tedious to the "general reader," but to the scholar they will, I trust, prove inspiring.

EXCERPT NO. I.

"1778.

"TO MAHARAJAH MOODHAJEE BHOOSILA.

"I have received most authentic Intelligence from different Channels that the French are carrying on Intrigues at Poona, partly with a view of forming an advantageous Alliance for their own Nation, and partly with a view to Destroying the Friendship which * * * time subsisted between the English and the Mahratta Government. I have likewise learnt that the French Agent, St. Lubin, has met with great Encouragement from some of the Chiefs, that a Treaty has actually been concluded with him, and the valuable Port

* These asterisks mark where the original document (a bad copy only) is defaced.

of Choul * * * granted to the French which * * * * * case distant from * * * * * of this Port not only marks Indisposition towards us but puts into the hands of the French an Arsenal where they may collect musketry stores and make Preparations for attacking our Possessions when we are unaware of their Designs.

"I now, having the general superintendence of the whole English Force in India have nothing to fear from the Exertions of a Nation who are Infants in Strength in India, and who must transport every soldier they have to bring into the Field from a distant Country and over a wide Ocean; and the Conduct of such of the Maratta Chiefs as may have joined the French in preference to the English Interests excites my Pity for their want of Wisdom rather than my anger for their Presumption. It is my duty however to * * * the future effects of their Intrigues, for if I permit the Enemies of the King of England and the Company to gather strength through my own * * * * * suffer in its Interests from any Thing they can do, the Lives of many men may be sacrificed in repelling Attacks for which we might not be prepared in one part of our Dominion, though we should have more than sufficient time on this side of India to punish our Enemies for whatever loss our Government might suffer from such Disturbance.

"For these Reasons I have resolved to send a strong military Force to reinforce our Settlement at Bombay, and have directed a large Detachment with a well appointed artillery commanded by experienced officers to assemble at Culpee that they may be ready to march towards Bombay. There are two roads by which they may march; one by Soubah Malwa, the other through Berar. The Road through Soubah Malwah is the shortest, but I have not yet formed any Friendship with the Rulers of the Countries situated on that Road, and as my Enemies are your Enemies and our wishes in all things the same, I have resolved that my Troops shall pass through Berar on their way to Bombay, that thereby * * * our Friendship may be declared to all the World and that the seeds of an alliance between the English and you, which has long been both my desire and your's, may be [MS. defaced.]

"It will be better if you send a trusty Person and Part of your own Army to accompany ours. I assure myself you will give me this proof of your Friendship, that the whole world may be a witness of its Sincerity, but as it is necessary to be certain of your consent before the Troops have proceeded too far I desire that if you should not chuse to comply with this Request, you will give Notice of it to the Commander of the Detachment who will accordingly take another Road. But this I will not suppose.

"WARREN HASTINGS."

*These asterisks mark where the original document (a bad copy only) is defaced.

EXCERPT NO. 2.

"TO MAHARAJAH MODAJEE BHOOSILA

Written the 11th July 1778.

"I have been favored with your Letter,—(*vide* Secret Dept. Consul, 4th July)—in which you say, etc., purport of his Letter.

"The anxieties which you have shewn to discover the real Design of the Ministers of Poonah is a proof of the warmth and Sincerity of your Friendship. The Letter dictated by them in the name of the Peishwa containing a Denial of the Engagement imputed to them with the French Agent at Poona is no proof that it does not exist. I have undeniable proofs of the contrary, and you will no longer doubt their Treachery when I tell you that one of the Principal Brahmins has acknowledged that a Treaty and Alliance has been concluded between one of their Body and the French Agent, and I am in Possession of the copies of many Letters which have passed between the French Agent at Poona and the Viceroy of Goa, in which the former desires permission for French Troops to land at Goa and to march through the Portuguese Pergannahs to Poonah.

"It is no longer proper that I, whom am entrusted by the King of England and the Company with the superintendence of their affairs and armies, should remain an idle spectator of such deeds of perfidy, specially as the King, my Master, has been obliged by the Behaviour of the French in Europe to declare war against them, which he did on the 18th of March 1778 or 18th of Suffer 1192 Hijerec. But you, my friend, have great interest in the affairs of Poonah, not only because you are the Principal Chief of that Empire, but because you are connected by blood with the antient Rajahs of Sittara; I have determined, therefore, that I will take in steps in consequence of the breach of faith on the part of the Ministers, lest through ignorance I should hurt your interests, without first consulting you. For this Reason, and because I know that those who are Enemies to my Nation are also your's as I shall hereafter explain. I have resolved to send Mr. Elliot, a gentleman of my own house, to communicate to you fully my sentiments. Beneram Pundit will tell you how entirely this gentleman has my confidence. I cannot give a stronger proof of my sincerity than by sending you my most confidential Dependent. He is perfectly acquainted with the political state of Hindoostan: he has made the Maratta affairs his study, but knowing the great interest I take in everything which relates to you, he has applied himself to obtain particular knowledge of the affairs of Berar. Nothing, however, secret has passed between you and me by letter or through Beneram Pundit but what he is informed of. He is fully empowered by me and by the Council of this place to negotiate and conclude a treaty of perpetual alliance between

you and the English Government, but the commission he is entrusted with is too secret to be written. He will leave Calcutta the 18th Instant or 2nd * * * and will go by Dawk to Cuttack in eight days: from thence he will set off to proceed through Darrah Sing's and Bemajec's countries to Nagpore. I hope that you will send people to meet him whenever you receive this letter and endeavour to make his journey safe and expeditious. I send one copy of this letter by the way of Benares, and another by Cuttack, that you may be sure to receive it. I have ordered the troops under Colonel Leslie not to go further than Berar till Mr. Elliot's arrival at Nagpore, that when you have been consulted * * * * determined what is to be done.

"WARREN HASTINGS."

EXCERPT NO. 3.

"TO BENERAM PUNDIT.

"By the Blessing of God, the Period is now arrived which gives me an Opportunity of manifesting in the most eminent degree the Friendship and Regard which I entertain for the Maharajah, your Master. The King of England, my Sovereign, has lately been compelled by the ill Behaviour of the French in Europe to declare War against them, which he did on the 18th of March 1778 or 18th of Suffer 1192 Hijeree. As the Maharajah has great Interests in the affairs of Poonah, not only because he is the principal Chief of that Empire, but because he is connected by blood with the antient Rajah of Satara, I hence determined therefore that I will take no steps in consequence of the Breach of Faith on the part of the Poonah Ministers in forming a Treaty with the French, lest through ignorance in punishing them I should hurt his Interests, without first consulting him. For this Reason, and because I know that those who are Enemies to my Nation are also your Master's, I have resolved to depute to Nagpo~~r~~ Mr. A. Elliot who is one of my nearest Friends, on which subject it is needless for me to enlarge, as you are well acquainted with his quality, rank, and the warm friendship and attachment he bears to me, as well as the entire confidence I place in him, so that he may be considered as the Channel of my Sentiments—he is entirely attached to me, and it gives me great Concern to part with him, having no Person to be compared to him, yet actuated by Sentiments of the most sincere Regard to the Maharajah, I shall give him his Dismission on the 18th of July or 22nd of Jummadee Assame. He will proceed by the way of Cuttack. He is invested with full Powers from me and the Council of this Place. Whatever he does will be approved and certified. It is necessary then that you immediately on the Receipt of this * * * the army and repair with all possible Expedition to your Master, and fully and distinctly explain to the Maharajah

and his Dewan Deyagur Pundit all the Particulars relative to Mr. Elliot. I have dispatched letters on this subject to the Maharajah and his Dewan by the way of Benares and Duplicates by the way of Cuttack, which will probably reach Nagpore before your arrival there. I place the most implicit confidence in you. It is necessary that regarding Mr. Elliot's pleasure as mine, you afford him your utmost support and assistance on every occasion, and pay the greatest attention to his welfare. You will learn further particulars from your Brother's letter.

"Postscript.—I have written to Colonel Leslie to give you your Dismission that you may repair with all expedition to Nagpore. I rely on you that you will exert yourself so warmly with your Master and his Dewan as to ensure a fortunate Issue to the Negotiations entrusted to Mr. Elliot which will be productive of the most advantageous consequences to both states, will oblige me, and redound greatly to your own credit."

EXCERPT NO. 4.

"TO RAJAH RAM PUNDIT.

"I am about to depute Mr. Elliot, my most intimate Friend and confident, in the character of ambassador to Maharajah Modajee Bhosila at Nagpore. I have by Letter informed the Rajah of that Gentleman's Rank and the powers he is invested with, which you will likewise learn by the Letters of Blissember Pundit. It is my wish that Mr. Elliot should proceed to Nagpore with every possible Degree of Expedition. As the Maharajah, your Master, and I are united in the most intimate connection, I have not furnished this Gentleman with Tents and other Necessaries for his journey, and have fixed on the 23rd of Jumadee Ulsami, or 6th of Sawan, being 10 days from this date, for his Departure from Calcutta by Dawk, my officers will station bearers and necessaries for him to Balasore, and Mr. Marriott, Resident of Balasore, has received Orders to lay Bearers for him from thence to Jagepore. It is necessary that you station Bearers from thence to Cuttack, at the Distance of 4 coss from each other, 24 Bearers at each stage, to carry Mr. Elliot and his Moonshey, that on his arrival at Jagepore which will be about the 26 or 27 Instant, he may not be delayed a Minute. You will also prepare 2 or 3 good tents such as will prevent that gentleman and his people suffering by the rains, also some Horsemen, Bearers and Coolies, and whatever else you may judge necessary for his safe and convenient Journey from Cuttack to Nagpore, that they may be ready on his arrival, and he be enabled to proceed immediately to Nagpore in Company with Mr. Anderson and the other Gentlemen who are *** arrived at Cuttack before the time. Knowing your support and assistance on every Occasion to this Gentleman and his Peoples as incumbent on you from the Friendship which subsists between

your Master and me, you will take such effectual measures to obviate every Difficulty in their Route that they may arrive at Nagpore without being subject to Inconvenience. This will give equal Pleasure to the Maharajah, your Master, and to me. I shall despatch a letter to the Maharajah to-morrow ; as soon as it reaches you, be pleased to forward it by express cossids with the strictest orders to Nagpore."

EXCERPT NO. 5.

" Letters of Credence to Mr. Elliot, written the 20th July 1778.

" TO ALEXANDER ELLIOT, ESQUIRE.

" Whereas an intercourse of Friendship has long subsisted between this Government and that of Berar, and it is our Desire and we believe it to be that of Moodajee Bhoosilah, the Rajah or Chief for the Time being of Berar, to confirm and perpetuate the same by a formal Treaty of Alliance, we the Governor-General and Council in Virtue of the Powers vested in Us by the King and Parliament of Great Britain and by the English East India Company to direct and control the political affairs of all the Company's Settlements in India, relying on your Fidelity, Prudence and Integrity, have deputed to proceed to Nagpore or to such other Place where the Rajah shall reside and to negotiate and conclude with Maha Rajah Moodajee Bhooslah or the Rajah for the time being of the Province of Berar and its Dependencies, a Treaty of Peace and Friendship between him and his Heirs and Successors on one part and the English East India Company on the other on such terms as shall for the mutual Benefit, Honor and Satisfaction of both Parties, and we hereby give you full Powers to that Effect, declaring that we will ratify and confirm whatever shall be so concluded. You in our names and our Behalf, according to the Instructions with which we have furnished you for that purpose.

Given in Fort William under our Hands and the seal of the Company this 20th Day of July in the year of our Lord 1778, or 24 of Jummadā Assanie 1192 Hijeræ."

EXCERPT NO. 6.

" TO RAJAH RAM PUNDIT NAIK OF CUTTACK. 21st July.

" A War having taken place between England and France, Mr. Chevalier, the Chief of the French Nation in Bengal, has made his escape from Chandernagore, and as I am informed has taken his Route through the Province of Orissa.

" As Friendship has long subsisted between the Rajahs of Berar and this Government, and particularly subsists at this Time between Maharajah

Moodajee Bhooslah and myself, I make no doubt you will readily comply with my Request to me your utmost Endeavours to apprehend the Person of Monsr. Chevalier and send him to me, or keep him in safe custody until you can receive the Instructions of the Rajah concerning him, and that you will observe the same Conduct with respect to all Frenchmen who pass that way, by securing them with their Papers till you receive Instructions how to dispose of them, constantly communicating all such Transactions to me. By your Compliance you will not only oblige me but the Rajah, your Master, and will give Honor to yourself."

THESE documents, published for the first time, illustrates the nature of Elliot's Mission. I now will give some letters which tell us of something about his sensational capture at Cuttack of the evading French Chiefs of Chandernagore and Balasore.

Cuttack, the 2nd August 1778.

HON'BLE SIR AND GENTLEMEN,

I have the pleasure to inform you that Mr. Chevalier and Mr. Sanson, the French Resident at Balasore, were yesterday seized and brought to the English factory and are now under my charge. Upon my arrival at Balasore I learnt from Mr. Marriot, the English Resident, that these two Gentlemen had quitted Balasore two or three days before my arrival and had proceeded towards Cuttack, I immediately ordered a Havildar and seven sepoy who had accompanied me from Midnapore to make the best of their way to this town, and left Balasore in the opinion that I should arrive two or three days before the Sepoys, but owing to the violence of the Rains, and to the want of Bearers, they overtook me at the Village about fifteen Cooss distant, and accompanied me from thence to Cuttack. Upon my arrival I found that the party of French Gentlemen, with whom I had been informed Mr. Chevalier was, had not quitted the town; but, owing to a mistaken description which had been given me of the dress in which Mr. Chevalier had made his escape, I imagined that he had been cautious enough to separate from his Countrymen. Having, however, received authentick information that he was one of three who arrived in European cloaths, I immediately waited upon Rajah Ram Pundit, and requested his Permission to seize the French Gentlemen, who had taken up their Residence in a Cutchuree within the walls of his Palace. He informed me that he had received a letter from the Governor-General the day before, desiring him to seize these Gentlemen, and had written to Rajah Moodagee Boonslah his master for Orders, that, if the Rajah should in his answer direct him to seize them, they should be immediately sent to Bengal, and that in the meantime he had given orders at all the Courts that they should not be suffered to pass. As I knew that no answer would be received from Nagpore in less than forty days, I thought it right to press the Raja for his Consent that they should be immediately taken. I reminded him of the long intercourse of friendship which had subsisted between our Government and the Rajah of Berar through the Vakeels of the Rajah, that I was sent to cement that friendship, and that it could not but be very ungrateful to my Superiors to hear that their declared Enemies were protected in the province immediately bordering upon their own. I read my Credentials to him and to the Dewan and requested that they would permit me to make myself master of Mr. Chevalier's Person. Rajah Ram Pundit appeared very averse to it,

and seemed to be of opinion that he could not do it without orders from Nagpore. He promised, however, to give me a decided answer next morning. The Reason, which the Rajah gave against seizing the French were reasonable, and I am very well assured that his aversion to it did not proceed from any bias in their favour, but from doubts which he *verily* entertained of the propriety of such a measure. I stationed Herculrahs in such a manner that none of the French could leave the Palace without my being immediately acquainted with it. I waited more formally upon the Rajah about twelve yesterday morning, accompanied by Captain Campbell, Lieutenant Anderson, and Mr. Farquhar; and, after half an hour's Conversation with him and the Dewan, they gave their Consent to their being seized and delivered over to be confined in the English factory, till we could have an opportunity of sending them to Bengal or to Ganjam. The Rajah desired at the same time that one of his Sirdars might go to Mr. Chevalier, inform him of the friendship subsisting between the English and the Berar Governments, and to explain to him the necessity under which the Rajah thought himself of delivering him and his companion up. I had no objection to this, and only desired that Captain Campbell might be permitted to draw up the few Sepoys at a distance but within view of the Cutcherree where the French Gentlemen were, which precaution I thought necessary as they professed themselves ignorant of the Chevalier's person and as I was apprehensive that he might once more take his escape. We walked immediately from the Rajah's house to the Cutcherree, and drew up the men as had been agreed upon, with whom we all stayed whilst one of the Rajah's Officers went into the Cutcherree to give Mr. Chevalier the necessary information. After half an hour's debate, and after one or two messages had passed between Rajah Ram Pandit and Mr. Chevalier, he agreed to deliver himself up. I immediately went into them, and assured Mr. Chevalier and Mr. Sanson that they should be treated with all the respect due to their Rank and Characters, and we walked immediately down to the Factory.

I wrote to Ganjam, by Yesterday's dawk, desiring the Chief and Council to send an officer with twenty Sepoys to convoy the French Gentlemen to that place, but having mentioned this Circumstance to Mr. Chevalier yesterday evening, he seemed anxious to go to Bengal, where he left Mrs. Chevalier, and assured me upon his Honor that he had not the most distant intention of attempting another Escape, and that he would formally give me his Parole to proceed to Calcutta without the Escort of a single sepoy. I did not at that moment make any reply, but, after considering his proposal, accepted his Parole as contained in the original paper which I do myself the honor of forwarding to you under the same cover as this letter. I mentioned to him at the same time that it was proper that an English Gentleman should accompany him with the few sepoy's who were with me and who were now to return to Midnapore, but that I would immediately countermand those I had sent for from Ganjam. I imagine they will set out from here in four or five days. I have written by to-day's post to Ganjam countermanding the sepoy's and requesting that an officer alone may come to Cuttack. The sepoy's will not in their march to Balasore have their Bayonets fixed. I have endeavoured, as well as the other English Gentlemen who are at Cuttack, to render the situation of Mr. Chevalier and Mr. Sanson as little disagreeable as possible, and I promise myself they will not complain of the treatment they have met with. I hope my conduct in this affair will meet with your approbation.

It will not be possible for me to knit this in less than a week if so soon. The Raja has ordered a troop of one hundred more to escort me to Nagpore who, added to the Bearer's and Coolies, which it is absolutely necessary to take, will make our party amount to four hundred or five hundred people, and as some part of the country between this and Nagpore

Is totally uncultivated and very thinly inhabited, I have been under the necessity of consenting that a bazar shall accompany us, without which I am assured it will be impossible to perform the journey.

I have the Honor to be,
Hon'ble Sir and Gentlemen,
Your most obedient and most humble Servant,
ALEX. ELLIOT.

The Hon'ble Warren Hastings, Esq.,
Governor-General and Supreme Council.

Cuttack, August 9, 1778.

HON'BLE SIR AND GENTLEMEN,

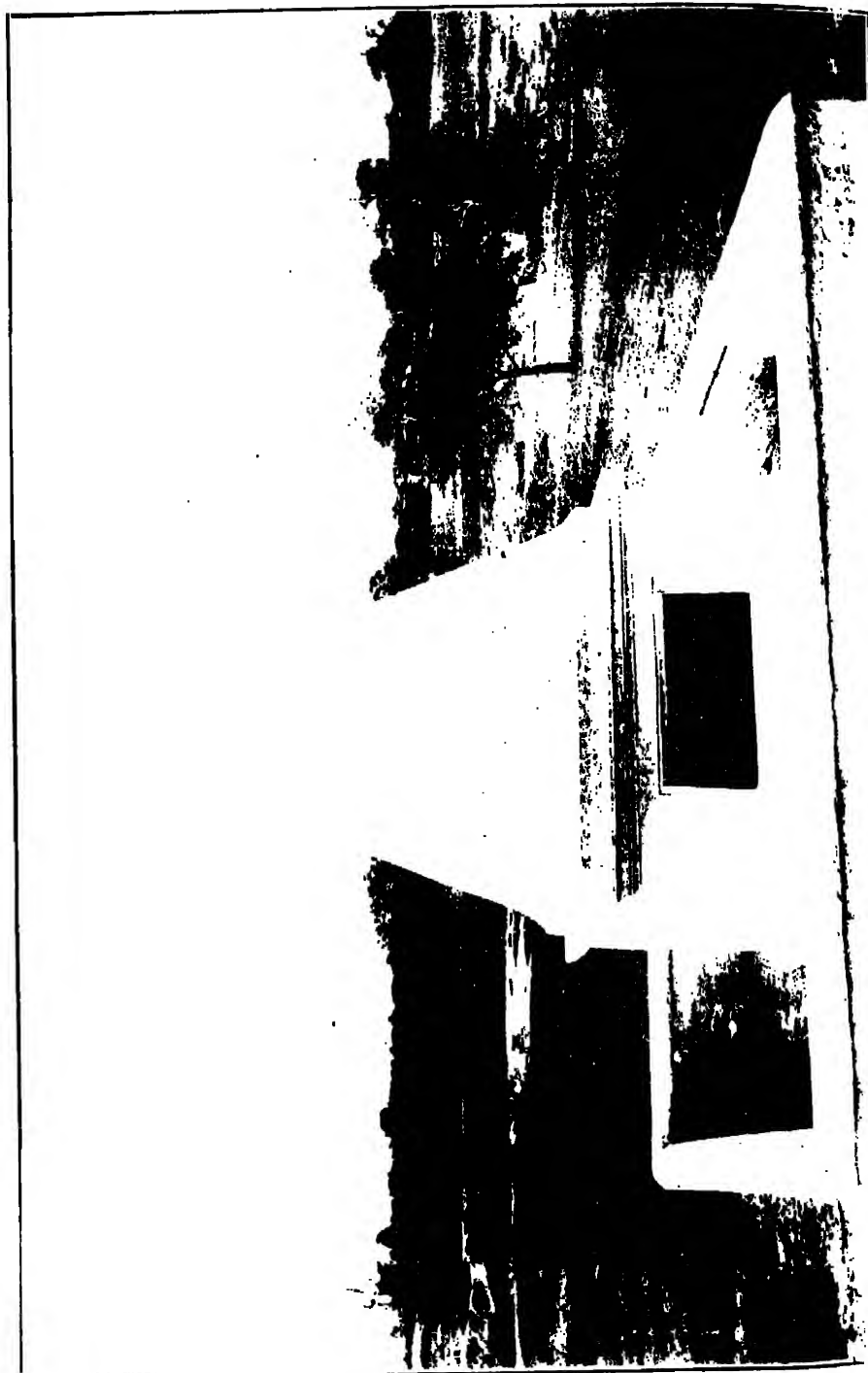
I did myself the Honor of addressing you in duplicate on the 2nd Instant informing you of Mr. Chevalier's being made prisoner and inclosing you his and Mr. Sanson's Parole to proceed to Calcutta, etc. They left this town on Friday last and I doubt not they will reach Calcutta in nine or ten days.

As it appeared to me of the highest importance that some regular and secure mode should be established for the conveyance of your Orders to Col. Leslie and myself and of our addresses to you, I have taken the Liberty of directing Abdul Wadood, a Munshee employed by the Company, to superintend the Dawk which passes through this Town, to hire twelve good Cossids, and have ventured to promise that Mr. Marriot will be directed by your Hon'ble Board to add the amount of their pay to the monthly Establishment for the Dawk under his management. The pay they ask is only seven Rupees and a half per month for each man, which makes the whole amount of this addition to the present expense of the Dawk only 90 Dmassah Rupees. At present the conveyance of letters to Nagpore is very uncertain and irregular. I have directed the Munshee to despatch two Cossids every Saturday with whatever letters may come in the course of the week directed to Col. Leslie or myself, and not to despatch them on any other day unless he shall receive an order from Mr. Marriot at Balasore so to do. In any case, when expedition is necessary, I take the liberty of recommending that the letters may be inclosed to Mr. Marriot at Balasore by which no time will be lost as the packet must, of course, pass through his hands. The Dawk is six days between Calcutta and this town; and I hope with the precautions I have taken to receive your despatches seventeen or eighteen days after their arrival at; Cuttack. If you approve of the directions I have given to the Munshee I beg that the necessary orders may be sent to Mr. Marriot or to the Post Master-General.

I leave Cuttack to-morrow morning and hope to reach Nagpore in about a month, as the Rains have fallen with much less violence there some days past and I hope the roads will be dry.

I have the Honor to be,
Hon'ble Sir and Gentlemen,
Your most obedient and most humble Servant,
ALEX. ELLIOT.

IN the collection of Warren Hastings MSS. at the British Museum are most probably to be found the confidential letters which passed between the Great Proconsul and his young friend: among these would be a letter referred to by Sydney C. Grier in her *Letters of Warren Hastings to His Wife*:



"Alexander Elliot, dying in the swamps near Cuttack, 'thinking of nothing but the public business in his delirium' and in his last letter entreating Hastings to supersede him, lest his plans should suffer by delay." Elliot died on September 12, 1778, at Sarangarh in the Chatisgarh Feudatory State. Sarangarh is, as a matter of fact, a good way from Cuttack—a good two hundred miles as the crow flies.

IT is interesting to note that the executors to Elliot's estate were George Bogle and Claud Alexander. Bogle is famous for his embassy (1774) to the Lama of Thibet, and it was during Bogle's absence on this adventurous journey that Elliot officiated for him as Secretary to the Select Committee and Registrar to the Sudder Dewani Adulat. After Elliot's death, Bogle wrote: "I cannot pass over the name of poor Elliot without a heavy heart. I never had, I never can have, so strong an esteem—I should say veneration—for anyone as I had for him, and I was happy beyond everybody in his friendship. I had not a thought that I concealed from him. He had none that he concealed from me. But alas! he is gone for ever." On February 10, 1781, Sir Gilbert Elliot (the future Governor-General) wrote to Bogle: "Give me leave to entreat some portion of that affection and confidence which my poor brother possessed, and which I have occasion to know he valued so highly. On my part I can freely offer you my heart. Our poor Allick had prepared us all for such a union, and it is now become a common duty in some degree to our common friend and a consolation to our common loss." Bogle died (at Calcutta, April 3, 1781) before Sir Gilbert's letter reached him. Claud Alexander also served as Executor to Bogle.* Bogle was thirty-four at his death: Elliot but twenty-three.

THE following eulogy of Elliot comes from an unexpected source—the pen of Gholam Husain Khan: "The Governor had taken care to facilitate the success of this expedition by dispatching to Great Nagpur, Mr. Elliot, a man, who, in sincerity of speech and propriety of conduct, had few equals amongst his own countrymen as well as amongst the Hindostanies."—*Seir Mutaqherin*, Vol. III., p. 99 (Cambray's Reprint).

BY the kindness of Her Excellency, Lady Minto, I am enabled to reproduce here two excellent views of the monument raised by Warren

* Cf. Clements R. Markham's *Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Thibet and of Thomas Manning to Lhasa*, 1876. On Oct. 5, 1778, a letter in the Imperial Records shows Elliot's Executors applying for a remittance of Rs. 30,000 "in the Company's cash by way of China," that amount apparently being Elliot's Estate. His salary as Superintendent of the Khalsa records was Rs. 1,200 per mensem.

Hastings to the memory of his faithful friend. It is most probable that in England there is a rich supply of materials for a life of Alexander Elliot, and the work of writing such a book would well repay the author who should undertake it. Perhaps, even here, fresh materials may come to hand : but I venture to think that these rather crudely executed notes represent fairly exhaustively what is to be learned about Alexander Elliot in Bengal.

SINCE my notes concerning J. B. Chevalier were finally passed for the Press, I have come across in manuscript John O'Donnell's own account of his sufferings in the Egyptian desert. While Mrs. Fay gives the names of the two Frenchmen as "Chevalier," O'Donnell calls them "St. Germaine." "De St. Germaine" would suggest the two sons of Pierre Renault, the defender of Chandernagore against Clive and Watson. The elder of these two sons was in the French Company, the younger in the Army. I have been misled by Mrs. Fay into a wrong conjecture. I can only plead that the conjecture was a very natural one. I had traced J. B. Chevalier's passage on a Danish ship from Serampore to Mocha, and he must have reached Egypt about the same time the Fays reached Alexandria.

I now have discovered that from Mocha, Monneron returned to Bengal. In a letter dated 10th September, 1779, Monneron writes to Warren Hastings from Ingili : "Persuaded as I am, Sir, that you will be sorry to be informed of M. Chevalier's fate ; I take the liberty of addressing to you the copy of his last letter which will make you familiar with it." If by "fate" death is meant, this is rather a sardonic touch : for Chevalier could not possibly have described his own end. The letter in question is dated (12th June, 1779) from a place, which I cannot trace, Sebelahah. It shows that Chevalier, who had had many troubles with the Arabs, was then on board a coffee boat bound for Kosseir, and from thence he and his party intended to make for the Nile, and so on to Cairo. If Chevalier, instead of making for the Nile direct from Kosseir, did indeed go to Suez, he would have been just in time to take part in O'Donnell's ill-fated march. But O'Donnell is more likely to be correct than Mrs. Fay, and we know nothing of any brother of Chevalier. Which we may ask of the two younger Renaults was the victim ? Was it the Civilian or the Soldier ? The latter, we may remember, was a godson of Dupleix. Of John O'Donnell, it may be said, that he had originally come out to India in 1771 as a Cadet on the Bombay Establishment, in which he had great expectations from the patronage accorded to him by Colonel Wedderbourne. His patron having died, O'Donnell came on leave to Bengal, and was taken on as private secretary by John Bristow, the Resident at Lucknow, and the future husband of the lovely Emma Wrangham. In 1775, by Bristow's influence, he was appointed

Commissary of Supplies to the Nawab's Troops, and latterly Deputy Paymaster. When the Nawab's Army was handed over in 1778 to the Company, O'Donnell was superseded, and, in consequence, resigned his appointment. Then comes a very tangled tale as to O'Donnell's accounts, which I shall not attempt to unravel. The last I have heard of O'Donnell is his application in 1781 to be furnished with some Artillery invalids to man a privateer and tackle French merchantmen. In research work of this kind comparatively nothing will be achieved unless we are prepared to face the discredit which falls on to those who make wrong conjectures, and unless we ourselves are prepared to be both our own most cruel critics, and the first in the field in warfare against our own propositions.

IN the *General Note Book* for this quarter "K. N. D." gives the inscription to be found on the great memorial pillar in Patna graveyard. I do not know at what date this inscription was added, but I believe that until 1880 the monument bore no inscription at all. In that year Sir Ashley Eden's Government inserted a tablet, which not only gave a wrong date for the Massacre, but contained the names of several officers who died elsewhere and on other occasions. The name of Sir William Hope, Bart. will be noted. His wife made her escape to the Dutch Factory, and I have no doubt that she was the Lady Hope who married the Mr. Lambert whose Octagon at Baraset was mentioned by Dr. Busteed (*Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. I., pp. 202-203). At Hajipur not far from Patna there is, or not so many years ago there was, a large monument of the familiar pyramidal shape. Native tradition reported that it was erected over the grave of a lame *sahib*. The *sahib* was most probably Captain Peter Cartairs. He died and was buried at Hajipur on June 3, 1763. It will be remembered that he had distinguished himself by his gallantry at the siege of Calcutta in 1756 and that he was one of the survivors of the Black Hole. Surely this tomb should be sought out and remembered.

I HAVE received with great pleasure the following comments on my "pages" from Dr. Busteed. It will be seen that I have anticipated Dr. Busteed's wishes in regard to the republication of Dalrymple's* *Account of the Loss of the Grosvenor*. The quotation, criticised by the Doctor, was from Miss Bletchynden's *Calcutta: Past and Present*. In regard to the spelling of the name Mackrabie, I give below the signatures of a document kindly supplied to me by Lieutenant-Colonel W. J. Buchanan.

* There is an interesting account of Alexander Dalrymple in Mr. Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography*. He "died of vexation" on June 19, 1808, about a month after being dismissed, on the score of old age, from his post of Hydrographer to the Admiralty.

Oath of Allegiance

I, A. B. do solemnly promise and swear that I will be
faithful and bear true allegiance to His Majesty
to help me God

Warren Hastings

J. Clavering

Geo: Monson

Rich^d. Parnell

Chancas

Alfred Haubroke Sheriff

J. Montague Sheriff

W. Atkinson, Coroner

W. Woodsworth

Jan'y the 3rd 1771

Edm. Weber

Jas. Richardson

1st Jan^y 1778

Abraham Durrant

John W. Johnson

1st October 1781

James Church

Wm. G.

John Stiles

Chas. Stuart

R. Sloper

Corwallis

Shore

Sherr. Roberts

Note. The Oath was taken according to a Resolution of Warren Hastings

"Editor's Note Book, Vol. II., No. 2, page 220: Yes, there is a slip in the *Echoes* as to the relationship of Alexander Elliot to the Sir Gilbert of the Impeachment Proceedings. It was right in the first Edition ('brother') but became 'son' in the second, and though immediately detected and marked for correction, it was allowed to escape and slip into the third edition. Such an accident too often happens when an author is compelled, or is unwise enough to be the sole reviser of his own proofs.

"What misled the author in the case was this passage in Tysoc Hancock's letters which may as well be quoted here as it puts beyond doubt, if

doubt there be, the date of young Elliot leaving Calcutta for England, *viz.*, to Mrs. Hancock 'August 5, 1775' (N.B. the date of the execution of Nuncomar). 'Mr. Elliot, who is Sir Gilbert's son, will deliver this to you. Your judgment will readily point out to you that he is a very fine young gentleman. As he can give you a perfect account of the dispute in Bengal, I will not write on so disgraceable a subject. Pray treat this gentleman with the greatest civility. He is the friend of our great friend.' The fact was lost sight of that Alexander Elliot's father was then alive. *Meca culpa.*"

"PAGE 241. The wreck of the *Grosvenor* 1782. Nothing can be more pathetic than the incident referred to, and the thoughts suggested by it in the extract quoted, page 242, *i.e.*, the passage touching the 'descendants of the English ladies who are supposed to have survived the hardships endured after landing. There is no tangible authority quoted for the 'strange rumours of Englishwomen being seen in kaffir kraals' or for what 'partly raised the veil of doubt and mystery during the Kaffir War of 1835.'

"The occurrence of such rumours and what they signify should be very jealously probed. They were not quite unknown during and after the Mutiny, and were never, so far as I believe, found to have any trustworthy foundation.

"Amongst your reprints the 'wreck of the *Grosvenor*' might perhaps be usefully included. The news of it brought great sorrow to Old Calcutta. I suppose one or more of the accounts of it may be found in the Imperial Library. In case of this not being so, I give a few brief notes which I happen to have by me which bear on the extract referred to above. I chanced to look into the matter in a cursory way some years ago, owing to the names of two of the passengers, *viz.*, that of the little son of Sir Robt. Chambers, and that of Mr. C. Newman,* the barrister who pleaded for the plaintiff in the case of *Grand vs. Francis* (1779). The best account of the wreck (which occurred on August 4, 1782) is that compiled by Alexander Dalrymple, who very carefully took and sifted the evidence of four of the survivors who eventually reached London (three men and a Cabin boy, R. Price, aged 13). Mr. Dalrymple took up the investigation at the request of Sir H. Fletcher, Chairman of the E. I. Company, to whom he reported on August 14, 1783. A second revised edition of his report was published in 1785.

* [Towards the end of 1781, Mr. C. Newman, in accordance with instructions from the Court of Directors, was sent to Madras to collect information in regard to charges brought against Sir Thomas Rumbold. His income at Madras was fixed at Rs. 2,500 a month and that of his assistant, Mr. Yorke, at Rs. 300 a month—Eds. B. P. AND P.]

"The *Gentleman's Magazine* gives a condensed account of the wreck and the subsequent events in September 1783. An account by Carter was published in 1791, but this I do not seem to have noted, so I cannot say whether it gives any authentic information later than that of Dalrymple's.

"The *Gentleman's Magazine* article has this significant remark: 'The natives never offered to carry away any of the ladies nor offered them any of those injuries so industriously circulated.' There is not much 'evidence' in these words, but they suggest the sort of things that were said—thus early: Very soon after the survivors who got ashore (more than 100) began their terrible land journey, they straggled and separated for various reasons, one of which was that small parties could easily get food, chiefly shell fish than larger bodies. The passengers remained with the party led by Captain Coxon. The survivors who gave their evidence in England did not see the Captain's party after they separated in ten days after his wreck. The passengers then with the Captain were: Colonel and Mrs. Jones, Mr. and Mrs. Hosea, Mrs. Logie (wife of the mate), Mr. Newman, Captain W. Adair, and the following, bracketed as children, Miss Dennis, Miss Wilmot, Miss Hosea, Master Saunders, Master Chambers—black female servants Betty, Sally, and Mary. The evidence so far as it goes suggests that the natives treated the poor people thus at their mercy (for they were unarmed) with cruelty—but by no means uniformly so: they even treated the individuals that fell singly amongst them rather with kindness than brutality: plunder was their main object, especially anything in the way of metal, or of buttons, etc. They took rings, ear-rings and 'everything they found hard' from the ladies, threatening to kill them if they resisted. So testified a Dane named Hubberly, who went to Copenhagen from the Cape and was examined when he appeared in London at a later date. Up to the time that the witnesses in England saw the ladies and passengers they had undergone great hardships, they had crossed one river in those 10 days wading breast high, supported by sailors who were carrying the children. Add to this, starvation, exhaustion, and terror and we may well be sceptical as to any of them surviving. It is not known on what information Sir R. Chambers acted when he inscribed on the Calcutta tombstone to the memory of his boy 'who was shipwrecked in the *Grosvenor*, and perished on the coast of Africa in August 1782.' If he assumed that the child must have perished, and soon after landing, it was an inference all too reasonable. Survivors told of the strongest sailors and other men succumbing to their terrible privations and sufferings in large numbers. This does not give much reason to suppose that any of the tender European ladies and children held out, their lives must soon have been released from torment. There were only 3 European ladies, and 3 European female children where the Captain's party was last seen—six in

all. Even supposing that half of these reached and received the shelter of Kaffir kraals, could any computation arrive at the 600 'Native Warriors' with European blood in them who offered their services to the English fifty-three years afterwards." The story is not that this tribe of "brothers" were sprung from European men from the *Grosvenor*, mating with African women, which might at least be possible, even probable, but the allegation is that they were the descendants of the English *ladies*, who had been wrecked. This suggests things so unutterably sad that the mind is reluctant to yield credence to a story which fortunately will not bear rigid investigation, so far at least as I have had any opportunity of weighing the facts that came under my notice."

"PAGE 255-6. As in some degree confirmatory of the letter from Mr. J. C. Lyell quoted in "the Member's Note Book" I may mention that I, too, was in Calcutta when the tombstone where Joseph Townsend was buried was unearthed. As soon as the fact was announced in the *Englishman*, or possibly a day or two before, I went down to St. John's graveyard and saw the stone just as it lay where it had been uncovered, *i.e.*, before it had been set up against Job Charnock's Mausoleum. This was early in July 1869. When the announcement and the verses referring to the old pilot appeared in the *Englishman*, I went up to see Dr. Chevers at the Medical College the same day, to have a talk with him about them. I remarked: "I daresay some people will think on seeing the epitaph and verses so close together in the paper that the latter are on the tombstone too." He smiled saying "Of course, they are merely a gloss (I distinctly remember the word 'gloss') on the times in which the old fellow lived and on the moving accidents by flood and field which he and his companions may have encountered—and on the stories more or less traditional which have come down to us," etc., etc. This is a paraphrase of what he said. He had a very charming courteous manner and was ever ready to impart information. I did not think it fair to ask him then and there if *he* had contributed those verses to the *Englishman*; but, as I drove away I thought to myself if Chevers has not written those lines himself—he knows who has."

"PAGE 261-2. There can be little doubt I fancy that the octagonal building referred to in K. N. D.'s article on Baraset (quoted by you) is the Octagon Summer house of Mackrabie's diary. It is probably the only structure existing now as it was when the card players visited it on that morning in February 1776. There Barwell and Francis Lemaistre and Mackrabie, names to be ever associated with the Consulship of Warren Hastings, may have met in friendly intercourse. Could the Historical Society urge a plea

for its preservation? Does it not cover the ashes of some worthy man (Mr. Lambert)* who may have done the State some forgotten service in his day?"

"BY-THE-BYE, touching the spelling of Mackrabie's name again, I suspect that any confusion about this arose from the reckless transcribing of it by the writers of Francis' Memoirs, *i.e.*, Parkes and Merivale. In recently looking over volume I of this work, I noticed the signature of several letters from Mackrabie. There are 18 of them in the appendix, 12 of these are signed Mackraby and 6 Mackorabie. No writer could himself so vary his own signature. A letter to him from Tilghman in January 1773, spells it Mackrabie. In fact this was always the correct family spelling. Francis may possibly have omitted the k sometimes, but he was not very orthodox in his spelling of proper names."

II. E. BUSTEED.

I OWE an apology to Messrs. Bourne and Shepherd for having attributed to another Firm the photographs facing page 203 and 208 of the present volume, and also to Messrs. Johnston and Hoffman for a similar error in regard to those facing page 202.

WALTER K. FIRMINER.

POSTSCRIPT.

I find at the last moment that I have omitted to quote a touching letter of George Bogle's in regard to the loss of his friend Elliot. It was read by Sir Elijah Impey at the bar of the House of Commons (Feb. 4, 1788).

MY DEAR SIR ELIJAH IMPEY,

I am favoured with your letter. The loss of Mr. Stewart at the very moment too when I expected to meet him, affected me very much; but the affliction which has now fallen on me in the death of Elliot is more than I can bear. The inclosed will give you the particulars. Pity me, Sir Elijah; his death leaves me hardly an object in life worth attending to. I enjoyed no pleasure equal to his company: I pursued no scheme, either of business or amusement, in which my mind did not associate him; I loved him with an affection above all the world; and he deserved of all men to be beloved: he possessed every talent and every virtue that the warmest imagination could draw; and I have often tried to discover one fault or defect in his character in vain.

I am, etc.,

G. BOGLE.

Sept. 30, 1778.

* "Lady Hyde," page 26, is evidently a misprint for Lady Hope, see Vol. 1, No. 2, page 203.

The Secretary's Pages.



THE Title-page, List of Errata, and an Index of names and places for Vol. I, *Bengal : Past and Present*, is now ready, and one copy has been issued, free of charge, to every member who joined the Society in 1907 and is still a member. Extra copies are for sale to the public at Re. 1 each. I would draw the reader's attention to the Society's advertisement with reference to the series of Historical Postcards. Copies of No. 1 Vol. I, of *Bengal : Past and Present*, will very shortly be withdrawn from sale.

AT the request of the Government of Bengal, the Society has suggested that the following inscriptions be placed on the tombs of the Hon. George Monson and the Lady Anne Monson :—

In Memory of
THE HON. GEORGE MONSON
Born April 18th, 1730.
Educated at Westminster.
Entered H. M. Foot—guards 1750,
Member of Parliament for Lincoln 1754-1768.
In the year 1760,
He, for a time, conducted the operations
at the
Siege of Pondichery,
in which he was severely wounded.
He served under General Draper at Manilla in 1762.
A.-D.-C. to the King 1769.
He (with Sir Philip Francis and General Clavering)
assumed office
as
A Member of the Supreme Council in India
October 20th, 1774.
Died at Hugli, September 25th, 1776.

This Grave and that of his Wife, the Lady Anne Monson, having remained nameless for one hundred and twenty-two years, this Tablet has been placed here by the Government of Bengal, at the request of the Calcutta Historical Society, in the year 1908.

In Memory of
 THE LADY ANNE MONSON,
 eldest daughter of
 the first Earl of Darlington
 By his marriage with
 The Lady Grace Fitzroy
 (daughter of the first Earl of Cleveland).
 She married first
 the Hon. Charles Hope-Weir,
 and secondly
 Colonel the Hon. George Monson.
 She died in Calcutta on the night of February 17th, 1776.
 Aged about 50 years.

To Miss Sinaes, of Serampore, the Society is indebted for the gift of an interesting brooch with a miniature portrait of Charles Weston. On his monument in the South Park Street Burial Ground it is recorded

"He manifested a grateful mind
 by cherishing in his old age his former
 employer and benefactor
 the late Governor Holwell."

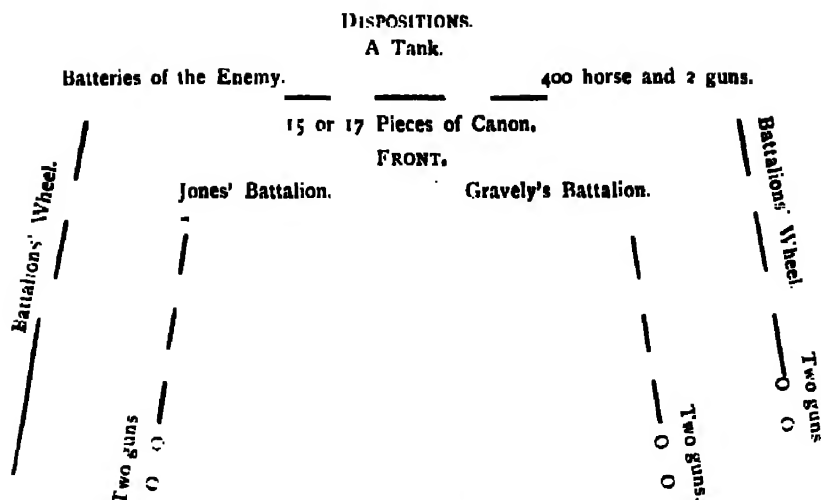
The *Bengal Obituary* affords the following brief note : "The son of the recorder of the Mayor's Court was born in Calcutta in 1731, in a house then opposite to where the Turret Bazar now stands. He witnessed the great storm and inundation of 1737, as it compelled his family to quit their house. The steeple of the church he states to have fallen prostrate. The houses of the Europeans in Calcutta at that time were surrounded with spacious gardens in which they stood central. This gentleman was the friend and associate of Mr. Holwell and carried arms as a militiaman at the old Fort in 1756. He was the founder of his own opulence; surely fortune never bestowed wealth better than on Charles Weston, a striking and exciting example, that chaste and refined sentiments are not confined to complexion or to climate. This truly honorable man resided at Chinsurah, amid a necessitous people soothed and supported by his bounty. Those who had seen better days

and on whom fortune had ceased to smile, were comforted by Charles Weston. One hundred gold mohurs and upwards a month were regularly distributed to the indigent from a box placed on his table, nor was there any sircar to deduct or intervene; all came from his own venerable hand. He left a sum of about a lac of rupees the interest of which is still distributed monthly by the Vestry of St. John's to a large number of the poor of Calcutta and Chinsurah." A portrait of Weston hangs in the Vestry room of St. John's, where also may be seen another miniature portrait of him, presented to the Church by Miss Sinaes. Mr. H. E. A. Cotton records of Weston: "He escaped the Black Hole by having been sent on the river to look after Holwell's baggage boats on the day before the Fort was taken. He does not appear to have gone down to Fulta, but to have taken refuge with the Dutch at Chinsurah. When Holwell left India in 1760 he gave Weston 2,000 rupees, and lent him another 5,000. With this capital he made a large fortune chiefly by agency business; and was lucky enough to win the Tiretta Bazar in the lottery of 1791." Weston served on the jury in the Nanda Kumar case.

OUR Patron, Dr. Busteed, is most generously presenting to the Society Chabot's monumental work on the handwriting of Francis and Junius, the best edition of Junius (3 Vols.), the Travels of Tahb Khan (1799, 2 Vols.) and a pamphlet of Waghorn's relative to the Overland Route. In regard to the last, Dr. Busteed writes to the Editor:—"It may be read reasonably with the correspondence between Lord Clare and Bishop Wilson in the last April number. Waghorn, the pioneer of the Overland route, was most scurvily treated by his own country, and his last surviving sister was allowed to die in a workhouse in 1883, and then, of course, we shed hypocritical tears." Dr. Busteed has also presented to the Society's archives the following documents, *viz.* :—

1. Commission to Gilbert William Watson, Esquire, of the 21st Regiment Native Infantry, appointing him Captain in the Company's Bengal Service by Brevet. Signed by the Marquess of Hastings, J. Adam and John Fendall. Countersigned by Lieut.-Col. Wm. Casement, Military Secretary. Dated March 27, 1821.
2. Commission to the same appointing him Captain in "the King's Army in the East Indies only." Signed by Hastings as Commander-in-Chief. March 27, 1821.
3. Lieut. Tho. Naylor to Lieut. W. Watson. June 28, 1776.

DEAR WATSON,—I was a few days ago desirous of giving you the earliest account of the Engagement between Parker's Detachment at Khorah and Nowab Ally Khawn, which I find since not to be so exact as I related it to you. Enclosed you have a correct return agreeable to the accounts that we have——with the Disposition of Both.



The above, my Friend, is a slight sketch of the Dispositions of both according to the most perfect accounts. It is evident the Enemy was found posted in the first Position but how P. advanced up to them, whether in Column or by Divisions, Sub or Grand, I know not. But when he observed (as he advanced as fast as possible up to them) that their numbers far exceeded his, and when manœuvring to the right and left with an intention to flank them, he ordered part of the right flanks to fall back and front them, and as they had forgot to post any of their guns upon their right (to be uniform with the left), Jones' Battalion took the advantage which offered, marched briskly on, while the Center at the same time with equal spirit and ardour advanced, and the whole of them acting as one principle with a violent discharge and impetuosity rushed in upon them and Routed them entirely. The two Guns upon the Enemies left did a deal of mischief, from which Gravely must have got his leg broke. The centre of the line from the situation of the enemies cannon must have suffered more than any other part; and there Lieut. Erskine was killed. Only figure to yourself the Havock that a Battery of 15 or 17 Guns must make, and what Noble fellows they must be to have advanced in the midst of such a discharge. *Where's the Chief?* Ask him how he would have liked to have been in one of their situations with his legion to have shared in such a Glorious day. "Pulling up his——and a little touch at his stock; I think I hear him say, their behaviour was noble and by——the man that would not wish to head a Battalion of Tygers agst a——should be——to death with——" The 15 or 16 Battalions behaved nobly and I'll be cursed if any Regiment in India could have supported the Honor of our Nation or have gained greater Reputation to themselves than they have done. The 400 horse (I believe they are Marattoes) wheeled off as soon as the action began, and carried away three of our Elephants.

[Conclusion notices death of a Mr. Angus and records "Parker, I understand, does not intend joining the Brigade—the Detachment will, I suppose, be marched to Belgaum by the next officer."

I am, dear Watson,
Yours sincerely,
THO. NAYLOR.

BELGRAM, 25th June 1776.

4. John Guthrie to Lieut. Watson.

DEAR WATSON,—I wrote to you yesterday the 21st instant, though I believe I dated it the 22nd. However, it does not signify. I now write a more particular account of Parker's Engagement. "Col. Parker marched from Corah the 18th instant in the Evening towards our Camp; *the Nabob's Troops being between them and us*; towards the Nabob's *(or Rajah's, which you please)* Troops, and he arrived at the place where they were encamped at 5 in the morning. They were then drawn up in regular order. The Col. sent to demand their guns, and told them it was the Nabob Asop Dowlah's order for him to get them either by fair means or force; they asked Him where was his order and, for them, He told them that was pointing to his two Battalions (:) they said they would defend themselves. The Col. ordered Gravely's Battalion guns to fire on them (it being on the right and more advanced); and the action began and lasted three quarters of an hour, and was very severe on both sides, when the enemy gave way and left their guns, Tumbrils, Carts, Tent Equipage, etc., etc., to the Conquerors. There is took seventeen guns, with the Tumbrils, etc., etc., all well mounted after the Europe fashion and very handsome. They had 500 killed exclusive of the wounded which is *unknown*; a vast number of Bullocks for Artillery, Tabors, etc., etc., are took. Their force was 5,000 foot (such as the *Nasiff pullon*), 1,000 horse and about 600 Rocket Men. *Bravo. Our whole force was 1,300 Sepoys and eight guns.* STILL MORE BRAVO. There is killed of Capt. Gravely's Battalion 1 European piper, 1 Subadar, 1 Jamidar and 9 R and file. *Wounded* 1 Sergeant, 1 Subadar, 3 Jamidars, 1 Beasty and 45 R and file. Killed of Captain Jones' Battalion, Lieutenant J. Erskin, 1 Jamidar, 2 Havildars, 1 Naig, and 7 Sepoys. *Wounded* : 1 Drummer, 2 Jamindars, 3 Havildars, 1 Sarcar and 66 Sepoys. Note, during the action some straggling Dogs of Maratoes carried off three of our Elephants. Poor Gravely had his leg Cut off the same Evening, having been shattered with a Cannon Ball. Erskin was shot dead, the first fire being on the Center near Parker; Gravely was on the right, Jones on the left, the Enemy had all their Guns in the Center except two on their left flank; the fire on the center was so hot that they were giving way if it had not been they were instantly supported from the flanks, etc., etc. No more.

I am, dear Watson,

Yours very truly,

JNO. GUTHRIE.

June 22, 1776.

5. To Lieutenant W. Watson from Lieutenant Val. Watherston from Firockabad, September 1776. Relative to business and private affairs.
6. Thomson Alcock to Major Watson, January 12, 1785. From Agra describing the miserable condition of the place [a most extraordinarily stilted epistle].
7. William Scott, Acting Adjutant-General, to Major W. Watson, Commanding the 4th Battalion of Sepoys at Dacca. April 14, 1786. Relative to the relations of a Collector of a District to the Officer in the Superior Command of the Troops in that District written by direction of the Commander-in-Chief.
8. William Sandys at Fort William to Major Watson at (Dacca). October 25, 1786.

MY DEAR MAJOR,—I wrote you the day after my arrival, since when I have received your friendly letter of the 16th instant.

I cannot differ from you in your decision for I think it perfectly just and esteem myself much obliged to you for your condescension in asking my opinion. I stood the first for Command when I left Dacca, Young is next, but if he relieves T. Smith I hope you will not permit the tour to be altered and pass me. If Smith was ill and you judged it necessary to relieve him, it would be a different case—then I must of necessity loose my tour. But I think I ought not to loose it through the pleasure of other Gentlemen. In the fair line of service if casualties happen whilst I am absent from my Corps I must suffer.

I have every reason to be pleased with my reception, but have powerful reasons to regret my being detained at Dacca so long. His Lordship (Cornwallis) conducts his business with regularity and dignity: at table he is most affable. As yet, he has formed no intimacy or connection, information is what he seeks, but he determines for himself. He endeavours to make himself acquainted with the characters of men and although polite to all, he makes a distinction. Colonel Ross is a sensible shrewd man but I think I perceive many endeavouring to attempt his Lordship through him—the class I need not mention, but I fear they will in the end succeed; but then, instead of being the proud dictators, they will only be the humble instruments—this we may rely on. Lord Cornwallis and Colonel Ross are good Judges of mankind and as such they will not be easily duped. The day after my introduction I received a card of invitation and dined with his Lordship the next day. I sat next to Colonel Ross and had a long conversation with him. The bottle circulated freely, his Lordship drank his glass, and we all got up in much better spirits than we sat down. I am surprised at Ross's knowledge of the country. After some little time our conversation turn'd on the French and of the orders which have been issued. He held a very different language from the former administration and condemn'd their measures with respect to that Nation. He ask'd me the character of Dayot (?), which I gave as a sensible man and one of the best of his country, I have seen. He then without any preliminary questions ask'd me if there were not many free merchants at Dacca. It was an improper question for him to ask. I recollected myself and answered in general terms—there were some, but that their trade in comparison with that carried on by the Black people and Armenians was very inconsiderable—he said no more. I need not point out to you that this letter is not written for the public eye. You may if you please communicate it to Mr. Day and I request you will remember me most kindly to him. I have seen no house as yet that will suit him. When I mentioned that H-L—had formed no intimacy, I except Mr. Shore. John Mackenz applied to his Lordship for permission to marry, and I believe was so to Miss Dawson last night—Report says through the influence of her uncle, and I believe it.

Your ring is in the Jewellers hands. When anything particular occurs, you shall hear from me, in the mean time believe me,

My dear Major,
Very sincerely yours,
W^M. SANDYS.

In presenting these papers to the Society, Dr. Busted with characteristic modesty writes to our Editor:—"These old letters from India were offered for sale by a gentleman living in Wales. I became the purchaser of them for a trifling sum. They are rather disappointing I fear, but such as they are (even as curiosities), I beg to present them to the Calcutta Historical Society through you." The reader of the two accounts here given of an altogether

forgotten battle—a tale of the greatest gallantry—will not regard these papers as disappointing, but it was quite in keeping with all we have heard of Dr. Busteed's personality that he should ask us to accept copper when giving us gold. The story of the victory of Colonel Parker's Detachment on June 18, 1776, had almost altogether dropped out of history. Major-General Stubbs in his *History of the Bengal Army*, for instance, jumps from 1775 to 1777 with the remark "No military operation of any moment, however, took place in this and the two following years" (p. 501 Cambray's Edition). Mr. George W. Forrest's *Selections from the Letters, Despatches and other State Papers preserved in the Foreign Department of the Government of India, 1772-1785*, are of untold worth for the student of Anglo-Indian History, but Mr. Forrest's three volumes are after all but a *pis aller* set forth by a much overworked official. In them we may find a few references to Colonel Nevill Parker, but no reference whatsoever to his victory of June 18 1776.

CAPTAIN F. G. CARDEW (*Sketch of the Services of the Bengal Native Army*, p. 39) writes :—"On the 18th June, 1776, was fought the brilliant action of Korah. In the preceding month Lieutenant-Colonel Parker had been detached from Belgram, in Oudh territory, with part of the 2nd Company of Artillery and the 15th and 16th Battalions of Native Infantry, to watch the motions of one Mabub Khan, a disaffected officer in the service of the Nawab Vazir, who was posted at Korah, about twenty-five miles below Cawnpore, with a force of seven battalions and nineteen guns. It being an object to gain possession of these guns, Colonel Parker marched on Korah and demanded their surrender. Mabub Khan himself was not present, but the demand was resisted by the next in command, upon which Colonel Parker moved forward to enforce it: a sharp conflict ensued, resulting in the complete defeat of Mabub Khan's troops, and the capture of the whole of his guns. The loss sustained by Colonel Parker's detachment is not recorded, but it appears to have been considerable: Captain Gravery, commanding the 15th Battalion, was dangerously wounded and subsequently died of his wounds; Lieutenant Erskine of the 16th was killed. In 1829, the two corps engaged (which had then become the late 1st and 10th regiments of Bengal Native Infantry) received the permission to inscribe 'KORAH' on their colours."

MR. S. R. ELSON has kindly presented to the Society a massive cannon ball dug up some years ago on the site of Old Fort William.

JAS. C. MITCHELL,
Honorary Secretary.

NEW MEMBERS.

NAMES.	ADDRESSES.	DATE OF MEMBER- SHIP 1907-08.
Addyman, J. E.	99, Clive Street	7th May.
Beazley, R. H.	Chartered Bank	9th "
Cadell, I.C.S., P.R.	Bengal Club	27th "
Cassie, G. J.	36, Charinghee	9th "
Cunningham, W. W.	101½ Clive Street	8th "
Hutton, Rev. W. H.	St. John's College, Oxford	August '07.
Kcay, Lyle	Mercantile Bank	27th May '08.
LeMesurier, H. P.	B.-N. Ry., Dalhousie Square	6th June.
McNair, G. B.	c/o Morgan & Co., 1, Hastings Street	27th "
Mead, C. H.	Mercantile Bank	31st "
Olver, G. T. W.	11, Middleton Row	9th "
Tin Kori Labiri	Serampore	9th "



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Mr. May, Truly
H. E. Buxton

Pandua and the Pandua Minar.



PANDUA is a large and important village, the headquarters of the *thana* of the same name, about seventeen miles north-west of Chinsura. Next to Satgaon, it is the oldest place in Hughli District. It was once the capital of a Hindu Raja, and is famous as the site of a great victory, gained by the Musalmans, under Shah Safi, over the Hindus, about A.D. 1340. The story of the Musalman conquest of Pandua is legendary rather than historical—though it seems certain that such a conquest did take place, and that the conqueror's name was Shah Safi, the details of the story are legendary, and the supernatural details probably a comparatively late addition.

The story is given by Hunter, in his *Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. III., pp. 313-314. Hunter took the story from *The Travels of a Hindu* by Bholanath Chandra. Vol. I., pp. 141-145. Hunter's version is as follows :—

"The story goes that the Hindu Raja of Pandua on the occasion of the birth of an heir to his house, had given a great festival. One of his officers, a Musalman, who held the post of translator of Persian documents, also made a feast of his own at the same time, at which he killed a cow, taking care to bury the bones in an obscure part of the town, in order to avoid giving offence to the Hindu population. But the bones were dug up by jackals at night; and the next morning, on discovering the sacrilege, the whole town rose *en masse* and demanded vengeance on the offender. The unfortunate child of the Raja, being deemed unworthy to live with the blood of kine upon his head, was first killed. The people then turned upon the Musalman, who appealed to the Raja for protection, and not receiving it, made his escape to Delhi, when the Emperor despatched a large army against the Pandua Raja, and a war resulted, which raged for many years, and finally terminated in the complete overthrow of the Hindus. This is the legend as told by Babu Bholanath Chandra. The Rev. James Long, in an article which appeared in the *Calcutta Review* some years ago, regarding the localities of the Grand Trunk Road, tells the same story, but with the difference that the Musalman officer of the Raja was celebrating the birth of his own child, the latter being slain by the Hindus as a retaliation upon the father for having slaughtered a cow; and that it was to obtain revenge for the murder of his child that the father sought assistance from the Emperor at Delhi. This version of the story seems the more probable.

"A local tradition of the war between the Mohammedans and the Pandua Raja, relates that for a long time the Musalmans strove against the place in vain, as the town contained a sacred tank, the waters of which possessed the virtue of restoring life to the fallen soldiers of the Hindu garrison. The Mohammedan general, however, succeeded in destroying the all-healing powers of the tank, by throwing a piece of cow's flesh into it, and thereby defiling the water. The besieged Hindus could no more make use of their tank and were forced to surrender."

So runs the story, so told by Hunter. The local tradition, last quoted, is taken from an article in the *Calcutta Review* for 1850, on "Early Bengali Literature and Newspapers," and the writer of that article had himself borrowed it from the *Calcutta Asiatic Observer* of 1824. The Raja of Pandua had sought the assistance of the Raja of Munad (Mahnad) against the invaders. The miraculous tank, which was called the *Jhinch Kund*, was at Mahnad. As that place is only four miles from Pandua, if the two were under different rulers or Rajas, they must have been very petty principalities.

The Pandua *minar*, or tower, was built to commemorate the victory of the Musalmans, and is said to be the oldest building in Bengal. It is described as follows in the *List of Ancient Monuments* :—

"It is a round tower of five stages or storeys, each lessening in diameter, from 60 feet at the base to 15 at the top. The dimensions of the several stages will be best understood by being placed in a tabular form.

Upper storey,	diameter	12'	above,	15'	below;	height	18'
Fourth	"	23'	10"	"	26'	"	18'
Third	"	34'	8"	"	37' 5"	"	30'
Second	"	47'	6"	"	48' 1"	"	25'
Basement	"	58'	2"	"	60'	"	25'
TOTAL							116'
Pinnacle							9'
Total height							125'

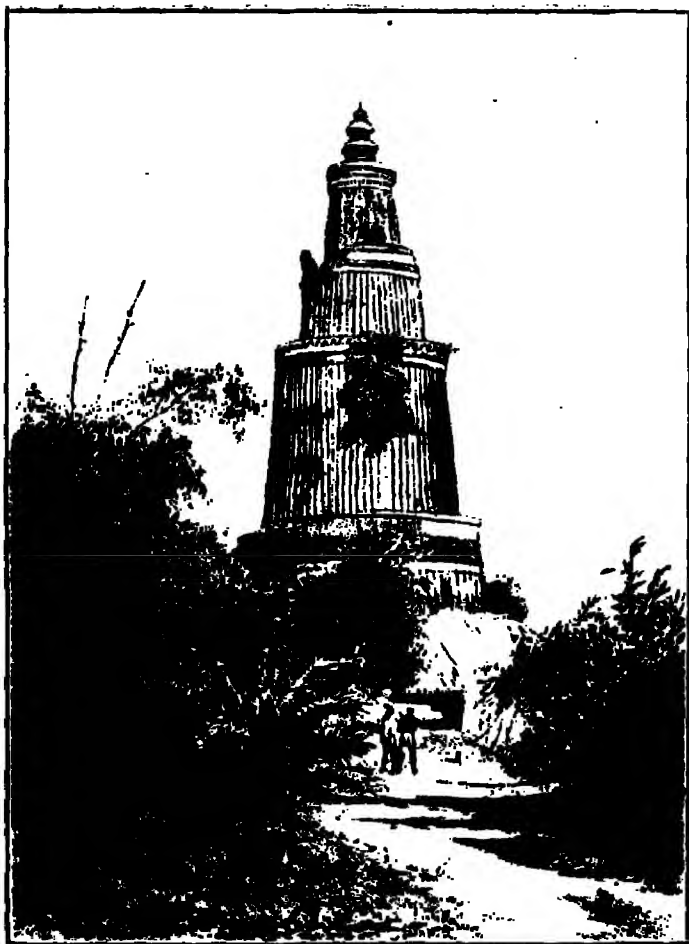
"The outer face of each storey is ornamented with very flat convex flutes. In the centre of the building there is a circular staircase leading to the top. At the base of each successive storey there is a doorway leading out to a narrow terrace on the outside which runs all round. The entrance door of the basement storey is on the west side towards the *mosjid*, which is 175 feet distant. On this account it is believed to have been the *Minara* or *Muassin's* tower, from the top of which the faithful were called to prayers. There is no inscription on the building, and the people of course refer its



THE PANDUA MINAR PREVIOUS
TO ITS RESTORATION.



THE PANDUA MINAR AFTER ITS RESTORATION.
(Photo by F. B. Bradley Birt, Esq., C.S.)



THE MINAR AT PANDUA.
(Journal of the Bengal Asiatic)

erection to the holy saint Sefiuddin whose tomb is close by. . . The top-most portion tumbled down in the earthquake of 1885."

The tower consists of a solid core of masonry, in the centre of which is an iron rod, said by tradition to have been the walking stick of Shah Safi, Musalman General. It struck me at once, when first I saw the tower, that it was a copy, on a smaller scale and with inferior workmanship, of the Kutab at Delhi. It is, however, thicker in proportion to its height than the Kutab is.

The *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. 39, 1870, contains pictures of the Pandua *minar*, and of the mosque in front of it, to the north-west. The *minar* appears to have been then in perfect preservation, even to the small pinnacle on the top; and the mosque, which had fallen wholly into ruins by 1900, seems to have been also in almost perfect preservation. I wrote the following description of the tower in 1906:—

Round the circular core there was once a circular staircase, but in the course of ages the steps have all been worn away, and there now remains a rough sloping ascent. There is no great difficulty in getting to the top. I went up on the 12th December 1900, but it is rather a scramble, and anyone doing so would be the better of a light, as it is pitch dark inside the tower. Round the circular stair is an outer wall of masonry. About ten feet above the ground is a recess, some six feet high by four broad, in the outer wall, which is here about eight feet thick. At the top of the third storey the stair opens out into what was once a circular gallery round the tower, but it is now so overgrown with bushes and jungle that it is impossible to go round it. On the top of the fourth storey there was once a similar gallery, overgrown now with jungle in the same way; there is now only sufficient room to sit down in the opening of the stair here. Up to the top of the third storey the stair is very dark, with only two small loopholes, and full of bats.

In 1906 the Pandua *minar* was taken on the Government list of monuments to be kept in repair, and it was thoroughly repaired during the first three months of 1907. It now consists of five stories, a cupola, and pinnacle. The fifth story, cupola and pinnacle, of the old tower, had fallen in the earthquake of 1885. A bank of earth, some six feet high, was heaped up round the base of the tower. The circular stair inside the tower was rebuilt from bottom to top, and the loopholes in the outer wall were cleared out and repaired, so that the staircase is now well lit, and it is now quite easy to go from the bottom to the top. The circular galleries round the base of each story were repaired, and parapets made round them. A fifth story, some twenty feet high, was added on; a cupola some six feet high above that, and a pinnacle ornament, another six feet high, on top of all. The height of the

tower, to the top of the pinnacle, is now 127 feet; and there are now 161 steps, as follows :—

To first Gallery	...	...	...	28	steps.
To second "	...	...	...	26	,
To third "	...	...	...	48	"
To fourth "	...	...	...	29	,
To interior of cupola	...	...	...	30	"

TOTAL ... 161 "

The whole *minar* was also replastered and whitewashed. Unfortunately this renovation has given the appearance of a brand new erection to what was formerly a venerable ruin. The Bengal monsoon rains, however, may be trusted to remove this spick and span appearance within a few years.

The mosque on the north-west was cleared out at the same time, all the rubbish, fallen brickwork, and jungle, being cleared away. It appears quite beyond repair now.

The minaret can be well seen from the railway, looking out to the north-east, as the train approaches Pandua from the south. It is also a very conspicuous object to any one approaching Pandua by the road from Kalna, from the north-east; but it is not easily seen in the village itself. It stands about a hundred yards east of the fourth furlong of the 42nd mile of the Grand Trunk Road.

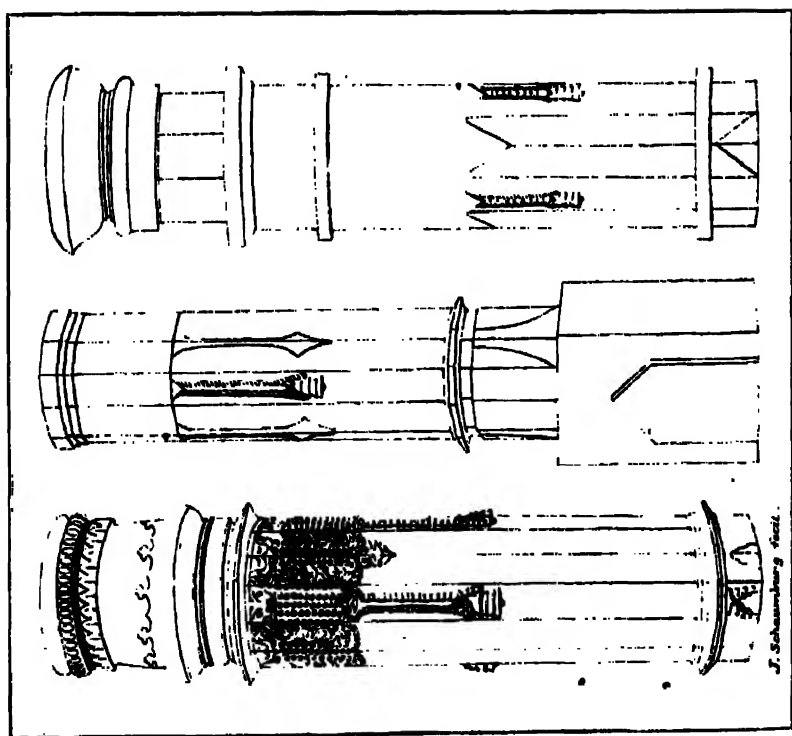
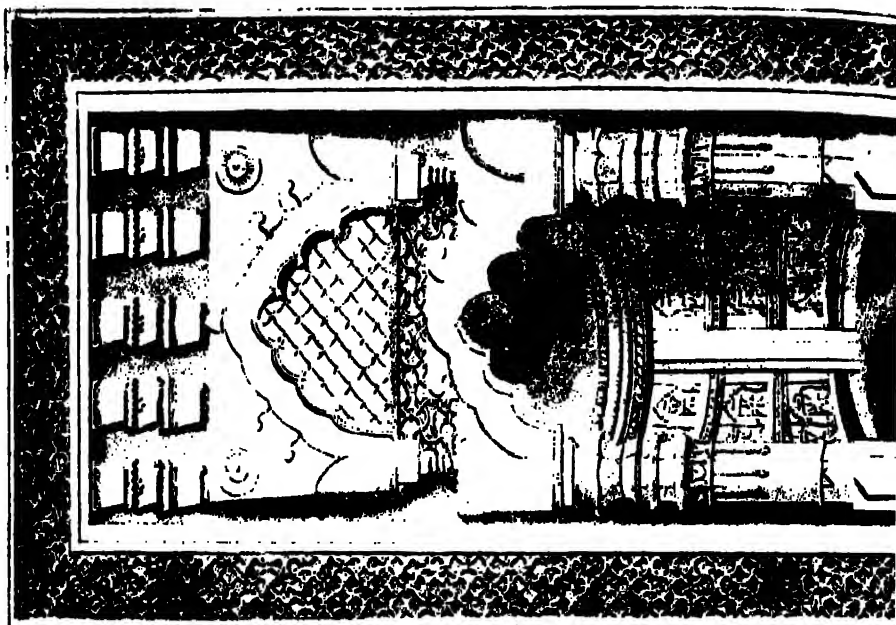
North-west of the minaret are the ruins of a large mosque, said to have had sixty domes, a few of which are still standing, though most of the building has fallen down, and much of the ruins has been cleared away. A number of large black oblong roughly carved stones may also be seen some worked into the mosque, or acting as pillars, others lying on the ground. Probably these were once part of an older Hindu temple.

About a hundred yards east of the tower is a large tank, with a mosque on its east bank. An inscription on the mosque shows that it is about 200 years old. East of the mosque again is a small Mussalman cemetery, walled in, but falling into decay. This mosque has also recently been repaired.

On the west of the Grand Trunk Road, opposite the tower, is a white-washed tomb, of no architectural pretensions or beauty, said to be that of Shah Safi alias Safiudin Sultan, the Conqueror of Pandua.

Local tradition calls the Hindu King, whom Shah Safi overthrew, Pandu. The article, above quoted, from the *Calcutta Review* of 1850, gives his name as Pandraja. The supposed site of the battlefield is known as "*Jang maidan*,"





or battlefield, and a tank excavated to celebrate the victory is called "*Fateh Allah*," or God's victory.

The date of the Musalman conquest is supposed to have been about A.D. 1340. The rulers of Delhi, during the fourteenth century, were—

Taghlak	...	...	1316—1325
Muhammad Taghlak	...	...	1325—1350
Firuz Shah	...	...	1350—1388

A large *mela*, or religious fair, is held at Pandua on the 1st of *Magh* (middle of January), and a smaller one on the 1st of *Baisakh* (middle of April) every year. At the former the attendance is about 10,000; chiefly Musalmans. In 1824 seventy persons were crushed to death in the tower, owing to one man falling, those below trying to get up, and those below trying to get down.

West of Pandua is a large tank, believed to be forty feet deep, called the *Pir Pokhar* or saint's tank. It is surrounded by ruined tombs, supposed to be those of Musalmans who fell during the war of invasion.

It is said that Pandua was once fortified by a wall and a trench, five miles in circumference. Maps of fifty years ago show a fortification, a wall or *band* completely surrounding the village. I have been out of and into Pandua, on all sides, north, south, east and west, dozens of times, but have never seen any traces of this circumvallation; unless an old *band*, running from the railway, a little north of the station, to the Grand Trunk Road, forms the remains of it.

Pandua suffered terribly from the epidemic fever which ravaged Bengal in the fifties and sixties of last century. This epidemic, in its slow westward march, reached Pandua in July 1862; upwards of 1,200 of the inhabitants of the village died during the next six months. By 1869 it is said 5,200 had died out of a population of less than 7,000.

Pandua is the chief Musalman centre in the district of Hughli, the population of which is almost entirely Hindu. Four-fifths of the total district population are Hindus; Pandua is the only place of any size in the district where Musalmans preponderate. Here they form the great majority. The Musalmans of Pandua chiefly belong to the upper classes, or *Ashraf* as they are called, and are generally known as *Aimadars*, from *Aima*, a grant, bestowed by the Moghal Government for services rendered by their forefathers. During the early years of British rule, when the British officers' duties were chiefly confined to the collection of revenue, and judicial authority was left in the hands of *Kasis*, or Musalman judges, these *Kasis* were often chosen from among the *Aimadars* of Pandua; and the post of *Kasi-al-Kassat* (*Kasi* of *Kasis*, or chief *Kasi*) was for some time hereditary in a Pandua family the last holder of the post being *Kasi* Muhammad Mazhar. The Musalmans

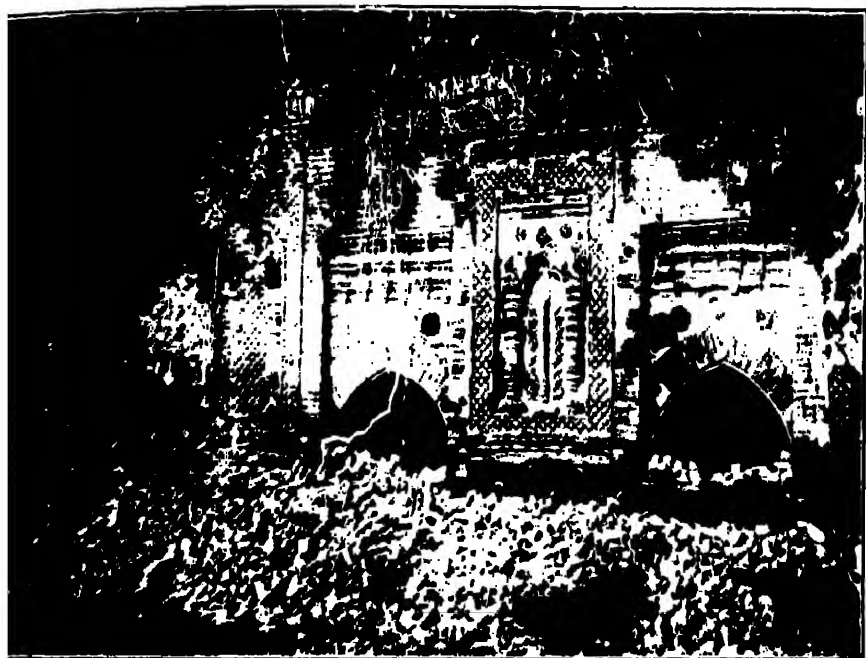
of Pandua are said, no doubt with truth, to be chiefly descended from the officers and soldiers who invaded Bengal under Shah Safi in the fourteenth century.

Even in its modern decay, Pandua is still a large and important village. It is the headquarters of a *thana*, and forms a municipal union. The station is a fairly large one, all trains, except the mails, stop at it. There is a Public Works Department resthouse in the village, also an English school, and a biweekly dispensary, a branch of the Bhola Nath Bose dispensary at Mandalai is held on *hdt* (market) afternoons, Sundays and Wednesdays.

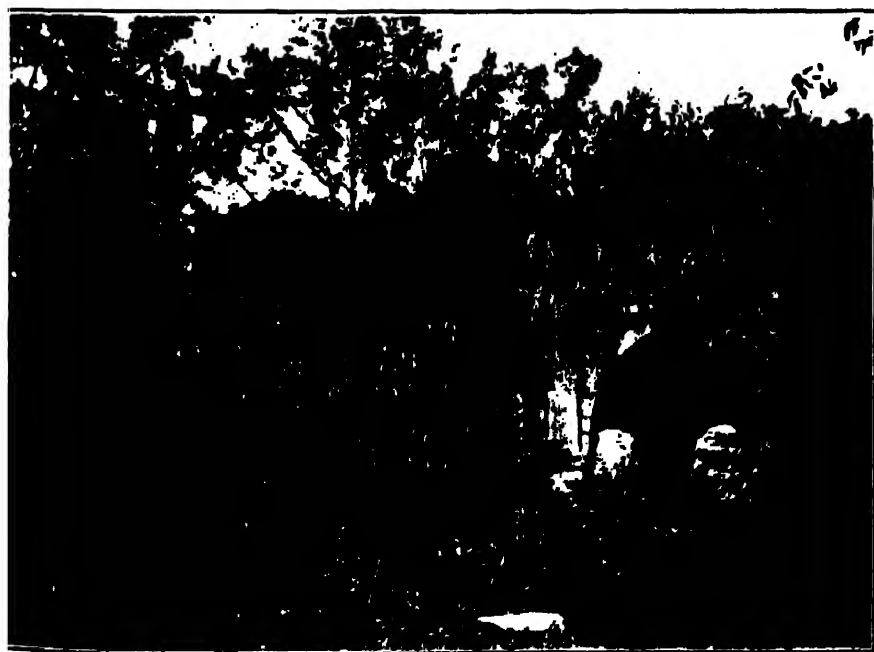
Mahnad, more properly Mahanath (the great Lord), is a large village, situated partly in Pandua and partly in Polba *thana*, four miles south of Pandua. As stated above, it is said to have been the capital of another Raja, who assisted the Pandua Raja against the Musalmans; possibly the two villages formed one town at that time. If so, all traces of the buildings filling the space between the two have disappeared. The miraculous tank may still be seen, and is now known as the "*Jibat Kund*," or tank of life. There are temples of Brahmomoyo and Shiva in the village. At the latter a festival, known as the Mahmad *Jath* (an Uriya word for festival), is held in the month of February, on the *Shivaratri*, the fourteenth day after the full moon in the month of Phalgun. The Bengal Rural Mission of the United Free Kirk has a station at Mahnad, and keeps up a school and a small dispensary. Five district roads meet in the village. Mahnad station on the Bengal Provincial Railway is about a mile south of the village.

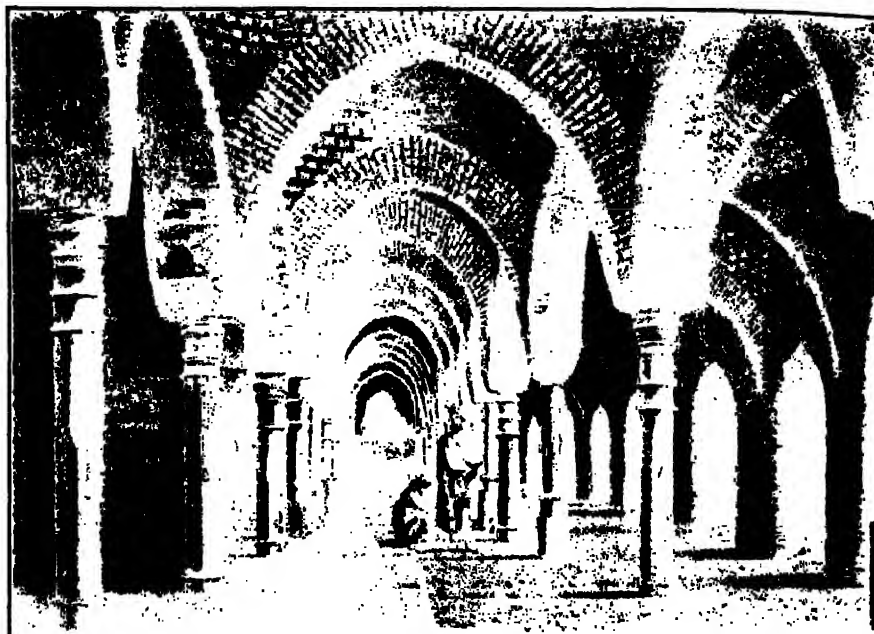
Dwarbasini is a small village about four miles west and a little south of Mahnad, and so is eight miles from Pandua. This place also has a legend almost identical with those of Pandua and Mahnad. The legend was furnished to me by Babu Satkauri Ghosh, Headmaster of Dwarbasini School. It runs as follows :—

At the time of the Musalman invasion of Bengal, a line of Hindu kings of the Satgop caste held their capital at Dwarbasini. The last of them was named Dwar Pal. His kingdom was invaded by a Musalman general named Muhammad Ali. The first battle fought was indecisive. In Dwar Pal's palace enclosure was a tank called the *Jibat kund*, or tank of life, which had the power of curing the wounds of all who bathed in it, and even of restoring to life the bodies of those slain in battle if they were placed in the sacred water. A Musalman saint named Saha Jokai got leave from Dwar Pal to bathe in this tank, and entered the water with a piece of beef hidden in his clothes; the pollution of the tank caused by this beef deprived the water of its healing powers. Bereft of its help, Dwar Pal was utterly defeated in a second battle, after which he and all his family burned themselves on a funeral pyre within his palace, which was thus reduced to a heap of ruins, known as *Dhan pala*.



RUINS OF MOSQUE AT PANDIT





THE INTERIOR OF THE MOSQUE OF PANDUA
(Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society)



ENTRANCE TO THE TOWER OF PANDUA
(Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society)

Before his death he predicted that, whenever a respectable Hindu of the Satgop caste should come to live at Dwarbasini, he would become its king. It is said that, as long as the Musalman rule lasted, no Satgop was ever allowed to settle there.

The tank now shown as the *jibat kund* is only a small shallow pond, on the south side of a much larger tank known as *hamana* (prayer-fulfilling). A small tomb on the east of the *jibat kund* is said to be that of the *Pir Saha Jokai*. It is in good repair, having been renewed within the last twenty years. Another large tank, a little to the east, now divided by cross *bands* into three small tanks, is called *Chandra kup* (tank of moonshine). Some distance to the north are another large tank called *Papharan* (sin removing) and a series of seven tanks called *Sat Satin*, after the Raja's seven wives. On the south-east of Dwarbasini is a slightly raised mound composed of broken brick, known as the *garh*, or fort. All over the village, a little below the surface, are the remains of brick houses and walls, with many filled up wells; and local tradition says that much treasure has from time to time been dug up, as well as many broken sculptured stones.

Nowadays Dwarbasini is a small, decayed, and very poor village. It contains a school and an outpatient dispensary, the latter is chiefly maintained by Raja Piari Mohan Mukerjea, C.S.I., of Uttarpara, who owns much property in the neighbourhood. Dwarbasini Station on the Bengal Provincial Railway is about a mile south of the main village. Another mile or so to the south-east, in Sathan village, stands one of the towers of the Great Trigonometrical Survey. Between Dwarbasini village and the railway line may be seen the ruins of an indigo factory, the chimney of which is still standing. All over Hughli district may be seen the remains of indigo factories; the vats, specially their floors, last a very long time; but this is the only one I have seen where the chimney remains standing. Indigo cultivation in this district died out about 1830 to 1840.

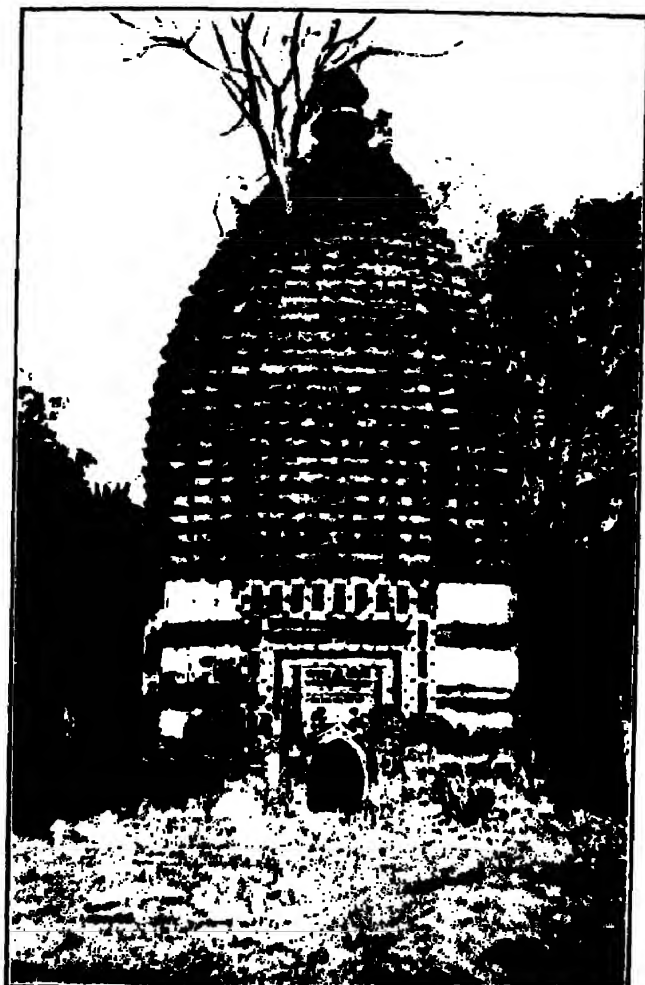
Dwarbasini, like Pandua, suffered terribly from the epidemic fever, which first attacked the village in 1863, about a year after it reached Pandua. In 1869 it was reported that 1,900 out of 2,700 inhabitants of Dwarbasini had died during the last six years, and that out of the 800 remaining barely one-fourth were in good health.

Bainchi is a considerable village about five and a half miles north-west of Pandua, and about a mile and a half east of Bainchi Station on the East Indian Railway. There are an inpatient dispensary and a Higher English School here maintained by endowment. Babu Bihari Lal Mukerjea, a wealthy trader and *semindar* who lived at Bainchi and died in the seventies of last century, left a lakh and a half of rupees for the maintenance of the school and dispensary. The bulk of his property was left to his widow for

life. She survived him for about thirty years, dying on 18th December 1905, when the whole property fell in to Government as a trust for charitable purposes. The school has since been moved into the family residence of its founder. In the compound of this house are two old Hindu temples with high conical roofs. A small inscription on one of them states that it was erected in the year 1604 *Sahabda*. This would be A.D. 1683. The *Sahabda* era is the era of Vikramaditya. Here and there in the village of Bainchi are several small temples, built of beautifully moulded bricks. One of the G.T.S. towers was built at Niala, a small village three miles north-east of Bainchi. It fell in the earthquake of 1885 and is now represented only by a rough mound of ruins.

D. G. CRAWFORD,
Lieut.-Col., I.M.S.







Notes on Old Darjeeling.

*To breathe the air of Sikkim free,
To wander by her purling rills ;
And seek the beauty of her hills
The blueness of her sky.*

(Colman Macaulay : *Lay of Lachen.*)



THE term "old" as applied to so comparatively modern a town as Darjeeling is somewhat of a misnomer when compared with some of the subjects dealt with in the pages of *Bengal: Past and Present*, yet the growth has been so considerable and the changes so many, that it may be of interest to reproduce an old map of Darjeeling and add some notes on the early inhabitants of this now fashionable hill station of Bengal. The old map, a copy of which is here reproduced, was shown to the writer by Mr. L. S. O'Malley, I.C.S., (the Editor of the present series of "Bengal Gazetteers") and was found in an old volume entitled *The Bengal and Agra Guide and Gazetteer* for 1841 (Calcutta, William Ruston and Company).

To understand it a brief reference is needed to the early history of Darjeeling and for this we can take no better guides than the chapter in Mr. O'Malley's recent *Gazetteer of Darjeeling* and an old *Handbook of Darjeeling*, published in 1863 by Captain J. G. Hathorn, R.A. (Calcutta, 1863, R. C. Lepage, 1, Tank Square).

EARLY HISTORY.

The history of Darjeeling is a late chapter in the extension of British rule in India. Before the year 1816 what is now the district of Darjeeling was in possession of the Nepalese, having been forcibly taken from the people of Sikkim. (At the end of the war with Nepal (on 4th March 1816) it was ceded to the East India Company by the treaty of Segouli, and on 10th February 1817 by the treaty of Titalya the territory so ceded was made over by the British to the Sikkim Raja. This "treaty covenant or agreement" was made between Captain Barre Latter, "Agent on the part of His Excellency the Right Hon'ble Earl of Moira, K.G., Governor-General, etc.," and certain named "deputies on the part of the Raja of Sikkimputtee." Disputes,

however, continued to occur from time to time and in 1828 the Governor-General deputed Captain Lloyd along with Mr. J. W. Grant* of the Civil Service to effect a settlement. They went to Darjeeling and apparently settled matters for the time. In a report, dated 18th June 1829, Lloyd claimed to have been the first European to have visited what he called "the old Goorkha Station of Darjeeling." He spent six days there in February 1829 and was immediately struck "with its being well adapted for the purpose of a sanitarium." He also commented on "its strategical position as commanding the entrance to Nepal and Bhutan.")

(Owing to the numerous Nepalese raids the once flourishing Sikkim village of Darjeeling had been deserted by its inhabitants and little remained but the ruins of an old temple or Buddhist monastery. This was situated on the top of what is now called "Observatory Hill" in the centre of the present station. Later on this *gumpa* was rebuilt, and still later it fell into ruins, and a new *gumpa* was built, which still exists, in the *Bhutia busti*, on the road down to the cantonment at Lebong. This ruined temple is the one referred to in the *Gazetteer* of 1841 as the "old ruin" and was long a landmark in the neighbourhood. A Buddhist "*chorten*" still crowns this hill and numerous prayer flags still flutter their prayers in the wind.)

✓The representations of Lloyd and Grant were not neglected by Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General, who soon after in 1830 deputed Captain Herbert, the Deputy Surveyor-General, and Mr. Grant to explore the tract and report to him. They soon reported, and, as the old *Gazetteer* says—"Occupation was strongly advocated and the various capabilities of the place pointed out." ✓

(The Court of Directors having been consulted and having agreed, Captain Lloyd received orders to "on the first convenient occasion" reopen negotiations with the Sikkim Raja. The "convenient occasion" soon arose owing to a raid made by some Lepcha refugees from Nepal into Sikkim and on 1st February 1835 the Raja of Sikkim executed a deed of grant and "out of friendship for the Government of the Company" he presented "Darjeeling to the Governor-General for the purpose of enabling the servants of his Government suffering from sickness to avail themselves of its advantages." The cession of the then uninhabited mountain was unconditional, ✓

*J. W. Grant became a "writer" in 1805, a "senior merchant" in 1816, was afterwards Commercial Resident at Malda, and in 1833 "Export Warehouse Keeper." He retired in 1849 and devoted himself to astronomy and built for himself an observatory. He died on 17th September 1865. Readers of that blend of sense and sensibility *The Journal of Mrs. Fenton* (1826-1830), will remember how much mention is made of Mr. and Mrs. Grant during the six months Mrs. Fenton (then Mrs. Campbell) lived with her friends the Gouldsburies at Malda. Mr. Grant is described as a "well-informed and agreeable man and a Highlander," and his visits to the "Nepaul Hills" are several times referred to.

but in 1841 the Government granted the Raja an allowance of Rs. 3,000 as compensation and afterwards raised it to Rs. 6,000.✓

Soon after Lloyd and Dr. Chapman (one of the medical officers of the Calcutta General Hospital) were sent to spend the winter of 1836-37 in Darjeeling and to report on its fitness as a sanitarium, and in 1840 the District of Darjeeling became officially recognised as a "District" by the appointment of Dr. Archibald Campbell to be "Superintendent of Darjeeling and in charge of political relations with Sikkim.")

THE MEN WHO MADE DARJEELING.

The three men to whom Darjeeling is indebted for its existence and development are Lloyd, Grant and Campbell. Lloyd and Grant discovered it and were the first Europeans to tread those hills, it was to Lloyd's influence with the Raja of Sikkim that the cession of the hill territory was made,* and to Dr. A. Campbell Darjeeling is indebted not only for the successful development of the place, but for the introduction of the great industry of these hills—the tea plantations.

An old report, written in 1852, by a Judge of the Supreme Court, is quoted by O'Malley; in it full credit is given to Campbell. It runs: "He found Darjeeling an inaccessible tract of forest.....by his exertions an excellent sanitarium has been established for troops and others, a Hill Corps has been formed for the maintenance of order, seventy European houses have been built, with a bazar, jail and buildings for the sick of the depôt; a revenue of Rs. 50,000 has been raised and is collected punctually, a system of administration of Justice has been introduced.....forced labour has been abolished, the cultivation of tea and coffee introduced and various European fruits and grapes; in short, I may say that to him the Government is indebted for the formation of the district of Darjeeling."

Dr. Archibald Campbell was born in Scotland on 20th April 1805 and was therefore 35 years of age when appointed Superintendent of Darjeeling. He was educated in Edinburgh and took his M.D. degree there in 1826. On 6th May 1827 he received his commission in the Bengal Medical Service. He had acted as Residency Surgeon in Nepal when Brian Hodgson was Political Officer, and in 1840 he was appointed first "Superintendent of Darjeeling," where he spent the next 22 years, retiring in February 1862, with 35 years' service. He died on 5th November 1874. He published a book (8vo. Calcutta, 1848) entitled "*Routes from Darjeeling to Tibet and Itinerary from Pharo in Tibet to Lassa*," and numerous articles in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

* This is recorded on General Lloyd's memorial tablet in St. Andrew's Church, Darjeeling.

Captain Hathorn (*Handbook* of 1863) writes of Campbell and his work as follows :—

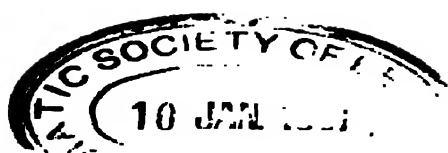
“ Agreeable and courteous in manner, able and judicious in mind, energetic and enterprising it is to Dr. Campbell that Darjeeling mainly owes its past progress and present position. For two and twenty years he wisely wielded the sceptre of this little principality and when at length he laid it down and exchanged the cares of office for rest and retirement in his native land, he left Darjeeling with the kindly wishes and grateful remembrances of all who had ever known him. (When Dr. Campbell took charge, there were not 20 families [‘100 souls’ says another account] in the whole tract of hills, there is now (1863) a population of 20,000.” [In 1901 the population of the Darjeeling District was 249,117.])

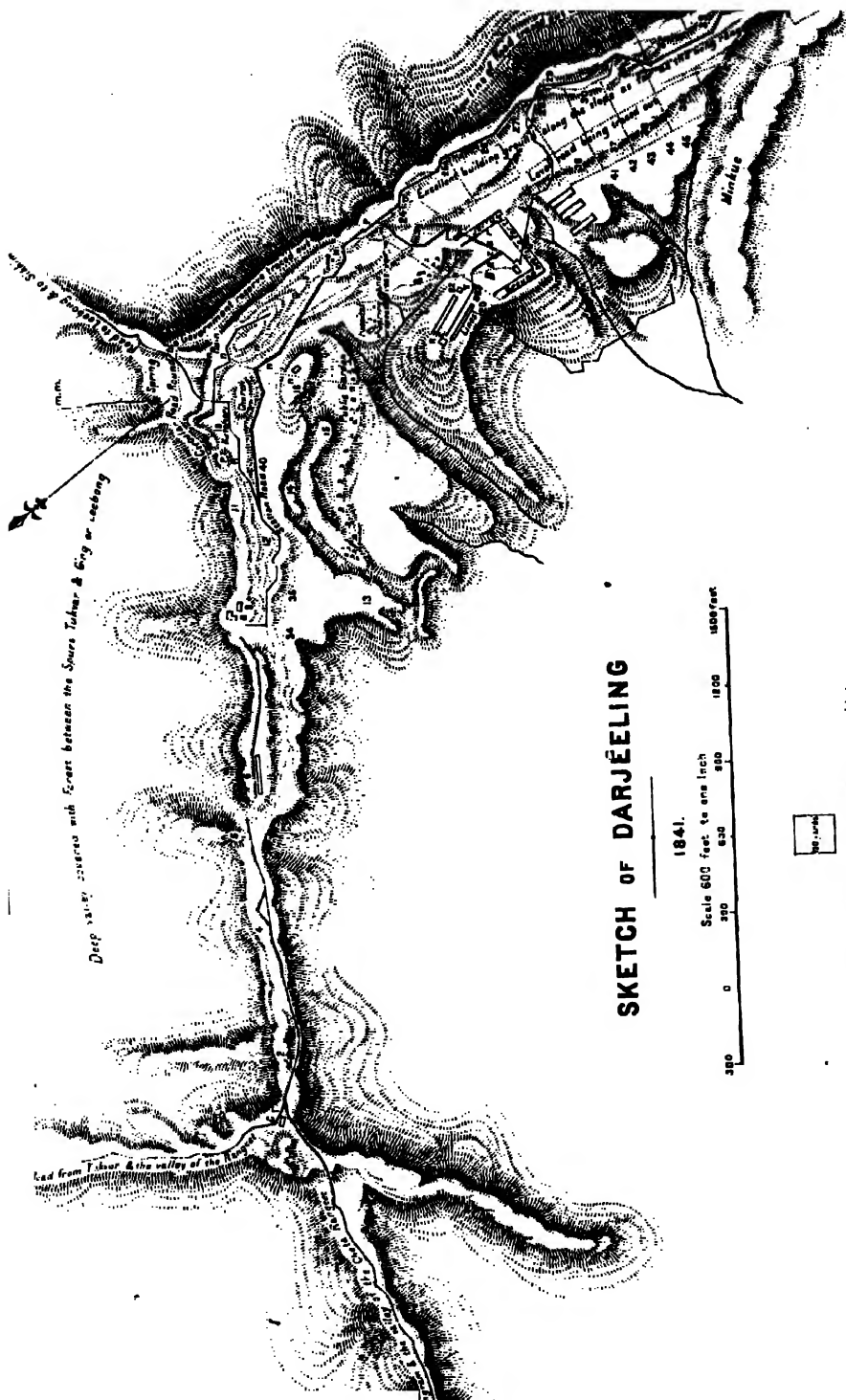
TROUBLE WITH SIKKIM.

For Campbell's first nine years there was nothing of political importance to disturb the even course of affairs in Darjeeling, but in 1848 Dr. (now Sir) Joseph Dalton Hooker (the still surviving veteran) came to Darjeeling and the Governor-General had specially asked the Sikkim Raja to give him every assistance in his botanical inquiries. Instead, however, of doing so the Raja, or rather his Dewan, (generally called the *Pagla Dewan*) systematically placed every obstacle he could in Hooker's path. Campbell therefore determined to join Hooker and interview the Raja. Campbell and Hooker reached Toomlong, the then capital of Sikkim, on 3rd November 1849, but the Raja totally ignored them. They therefore left the next day and on 7th November they were both seized by a body of 90 Sikkimese soldiers and made prisoners, and Campbell was very roughly treated and tortured. The story is graphically told by Hooker in his *Himalayan Journals* (Chapters XXV and XXVI). Military preparations were begun at Darjeeling when the news reached there, but Campbell and Hooker were not released till they had been in captivity for six weeks.

(As a punishment for this unprovoked outrage the territory of the Sikkim terai was taken back by the Company from the Raja. This was effected by four policemen who entered the treasury and found there exactly six rupees ! The boundary between Sikkim and British territory was also fixed at the Rungeet river, where it still remains.)

(After this nothing of special importance took place till 1860, when Campbell reported that the Sikkimese had set our authority at defiance, had prohibited trade and systematically kidnapped and made slaves of British subjects. Campbell was then ordered to seize certain portions of Sikkim till the demands for redress were agreed to. In November 1860 he marched





Size of Ground to which each person is entitled

into Sikkim with three other Europeans and 100 men of the local Darjeeling "Sebundy Sappers" and reached Richinpong, a village about 40 miles from Darjeeling. He was here fiercely attacked and was forced to retire owing to his ammunition being exhausted and on hearing reports of a threatened attack on Darjeeling. The retreating little force was badly mauled in a defile 6 miles from camp, and the retreat became a flight till they met a detachment sent out to their aid. For some days there was considerable excitement in Darjeeling, but a force was soon organised and put under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel J. C. Gawler,* F.R.G.S., of the 73rd Foot.

THE EXPEDITION OF 1861.

This force consisted of a battery of Mountain Artillery, 2 Naval howitzers, 400 men of the 6th Royal Regiment, 5 companies of the 73rd N.I., a wing of the 3rd Sikhs and 290 men of the Sikh Police (now 45th Sikhs). The force crossed the Rungeet on 2nd February 1861. The enemy offered but feeble resistance and the chief difficulty was in the desertion of the transport coolies. The force reached Toomlong on 9th March and the young Raja came down from Chumbi to meet them, and a treaty was signed by the Hon'ble Ashley Eden, "the Envoy and Special Commissioner" and "Sekeong Kuzoo, the Maharaja of Sikkim" on 28th March 1861.

The treaty consisted of 23 articles and made arrangements for trade, delivery of defaulters and criminals, etc., and the Maharaja expressed his sincere regret for the misconduct of his servants and subjects and agreed to pay an indemnity.†

We need not continue the history of Darjeeling after 1861.‡

* A very interesting account of this expedition into Sikkim (which in 1849 Sir Charles Napier had pronounced to be "impracticable for British Troops") was given by the Commandant, Lieutenant-Colonel John Cox Gawler, in a book published by Edward Stanford (London, 1873), entitled "Sikkim, with hints on Mountain and Jungle Warfare." Gawler was afterwards made Keeper of the Crown Jewels in the Tower of London and died on 31st July 1882. I am indebted for the loan of this book to Mr. John White, an old and respected resident of Darjeeling, who came to Darjeeling with the 6th Foot in December 1860.

† Ashley Eden had an hereditary interest in Darjeeling, being son of the third Lord Auckland and nephew of the Governor-General. He was Lieutenant-Governor 1877-1882; his name is still commemorated in the Eden Sanitarium and in a house and road called "Ashley." On 13th March 1864 as Envoy to Bhutan he was very roughly handled and subjected to indignities, as Campbell was at the hands of the Sikkimese in 1849.

‡ Though no mention is made in these Notes of the later Sikkim expedition of 1888-89, yet it may be worth while to put on record the story recorded by Captain M. Power, an old and respected resident of Darjeeling (to whom I am indebted for much information in the these notes).

It runs as follows: After the battle of the Jelap La Pass among the prisoners taken was a "Tibetan" of fair complexion, blue eyes and red hair, so European was he in appearance that one of his captors said: "Bedad he's the very twin of Paddy Sullivan." The Doctor who attended to his wounds became interested in him and made many inquiries; he found that the prisoner's name was Namgy

DARJEELING IN 1841.

We may now try to realise what the old station was like in 1841, when the accompanying map was published. The numbers on the map refer to locations or to houses already built.

We may commence at the north-west corner of the station. We find marked on the map the site of a house called, obviously from its northerly position, "John o'Groats." It belonged to a Lieutenant Montgomery who may have been the officer of that name in the 15th Native Infantry, then stationed at Dinapore. The site of this house must have been near to the present fine house called "Singamari" belonging to Mr. A. Price. It was near what is now called North Point, where St. Joseph's College now stands. This College was opened in 1892, the school having formerly been at a house called "Sunny Bank."

The road which now runs round Birch Hill then existed from John O'Groats to the present Observatory Hill. On this road in 1841 were situated two houses, No. 2 or 3, belonging to a Mr. Yule. Higher up this road was No. 4 belonging to Mr. Smith, of whom more hereafter, and No. 5 called "Primrose Hill" belonging to Mr. Martin. This Mr. Martin, or his family, for many years after kept the principal shop of Darjeeling. The shop was in 1863 close to General Lloyd's house (No. 16 on map). Mr. Martin also owned location No. 41 and, later on, the house now known as "Rose Bank," which has been in the possession of the Maharaja of Burdwan's family for the past 50 years. Next to "Primrose Hill" came location No. 6. This is on the ground now known as "Wilson's Busti." It is just below the present Durbar Hall and the houses are now used as the offices of the local Public Works Department. No. 6 was the only Hotel of those days. It belonged to Mr. S. Smith, the owner of locations Nos. 5 and 28. Smith had let out this Hotel to D. Wilson & Co., the enterprising firm whose name is preserved

Doolan and, afterwards, a Lama of the Pemionchi Monastery in Sikkim told him that many years before a big burly red-haired European had come to Sikkim, with a Lepcha wife, and had settled down in Sikkim; when our Expedition of 1861 came this man and his family migrated to Tibet. Inquiries made in Darjeeling proved that about 1849, a harum-scarum red-haired Irishman named Timothy Doolan had fallen in love with a Lepcha woman and on his commanding officer ordering him back to Dinapur in order to break off the affair Tim Doolan had bolted into Sikkim with his Lepcha wife and refused to return and had even fired on the "Sebundy Sappers" sent in pursuit of him. A messenger was sent to Namgay Doolan's house in Tibet and brought back with him an old brass regimental buckle and an old crucifix, etc., proving the above story to be true. Tim Dooley became "Timday Doola" and probably his descendants are in Tibet to this day and Namgay Doola, the "Tibetan" prisoner, was the son of the Irish Tim Doolan. Kipling apparently has heard of this story; see his *Namgay Doola* (*Ed. de luxe*, Macmillan & Co. IV. In *Black and White*, p. 26.), but Kipling's story has too much of the stage Irishman about it and is not as good a story as the version, published privately, by Captain Power, here summarised.

in Calcutta in the name "Wilson Hotel" still given by *ghariwalas* to the Great Eastern Hotel.

The Darjeeling Hotel was a fair sized one, containing (in 1841) 14 single and 7 double rooms. It was managed for D. Wilson & Co. by Mr. Warman, the owner or occupier of location No. 7 close by.

It was probably the same "cottage-like" building which so disappointed Hooker on his arrival in Darjeeling on 16th April 1848. He had been informed that there was a "furnished hotel" in Darjeeling and had (in English fashion) brought neither servants nor bedding. He describes it (*Himalayan Journals*, Chapter IV) as "a long cottage-like building, divided off into pairs of apartments which are hired by visitors." This "hotel" was probably little better than the *dāk* bungalow of the day, and twenty years later it was even more uncomfortable, for in 1863 Captain Hathorn devotes over two pages of his *Handbook* to a denunciation of it..."There is neither (he wrote) an Hotel or *Dāk* Bungalow properly so called...There is what is called a *Dāk* Bungalow belonging to Messrs. D. Wilson & Co." The accommodation is described as "inferior both in quantity and quality, the cuisine is bad, the *khansama's* charges are exorbitant" (this is not surprising as the *khansama* was an ex-convict "who had been twice in jail"). The people of 1863 possibly expected much, for Captain Hathorn remarks that "the gentry of Calcutta who have been accustomed to the sumptuous dinners, the silver plate, and iced champagne of Calcutta" are naturally disgusted with "the stringy sheep, the muscular goat, the indigestible bread and the altogether-to-be abominated fowl" with which they were regaled in Darjeeling in 1863.

House or location No. 8 belonged to a Colonel Caufield. This *may* be a Lieutenant-Colonel Caufield, C.B., of the Light Cavalry, who went on sick leave in February 1841, as the Army List shows. He may have been one of the first invalids to enjoy the cool breezes of Darjeeling.

House No. 9, called "Solitaire," belonged to Mr. Hepper, probably of the firm of Hepper & Co., who owned location No. 30 and its house, then and still called "Oak Lodge." The site of No. 9 corresponds with that of the present house, "Rivers Hill," close by the Shrubbery cricket ground. We understand that the name "Rivers" was taken from that of Sir A. Rivers Thompson, who was Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal from 1882-87, and is remembered as the opponent of what was in those stirring days called the "Ilbert Bill." Location No. 10 we cannot trace, but No. 11 is a well-known one, as it is the site of the present Shrubbery. The old house is seen in the picture of 1852 with three tall trees in front of it. The house on this site had formerly been in the possession of Sir Thomas Edward Michell Turton, Bart., who was Registrar of the Supreme Court of Calcutta, and succeeded

his brother as Baronet in 1844, and later on got into financial troubles which led to his being an inmate for a considerable time of the civil side of the Presidency Jail, where till recently a ward was pointed out known by the name of Turton's ward.

This house, about 1862, passed into the possession of Mr. Charles H. Barnes, a notable man in old Darjeeling and one of the most energetic pioneers of the tea industry.* Readers of Hooker's "*Himalayas*" will remember how he records the hospitality of Mr. G. Barnes in his comfortable house, "on a conical hill overlooking the Ganges," at Colgong, and how Mr. Charles H. Barnes was the first to welcome him to Darjeeling on his arrival at the "Hotel" as above described. The Barnes brothers were noted for their hospitality and kept open house for travellers on their way to the hills. It was Charles H. Barnes who opened out the tea estates of Chongtong, Nagri, Singtom, Vah, Mineral Springs, Rungneet and the Mounteviot estate at Kurseong. A tablet is erected to his memory in St. Andrew's Church, Darjeeling, and the names of two estates in the district, "Barnesmore" and "Barnesbeg," still commemorate the name of the man who did so much to establish the great industry of these hills. From the hands of Mr. Barnes the old house in the grounds of the Shrubbery passed into the possession of the Cooch Behar Estate and was finally cheaply purchased by Government on 31st October 1877. The present fine residence of the Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal, erected in 1879† in Sir Ashley Eden's time, was first occupied in the summer of 1880. The previous house, though usually described as a "cottage," must have been a fairly large and roomy one, for in it dwelt a succession of Lieutenant-Governors from the days of Sir Frederick Halliday, the first Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

*We content ourselves with a bare mention of the tea industry in these hills ; its history has yet to be written. It has had many ups and downs, an early boom, a slump in 1866, another advance in 1871-4, a depression ten years later, a great rise in 1892-96, then great overproduction and its consequences, and a steady improvement to the present day. (See an interesting note in the *Empire* of 17th April 1907.)

This and the story of the rise and fall of the settlement at Hope Town, which the energy of Mr. Brine, Mr. Decruz and Mr. H. Dear (of Monghyr) endeavoured to make a success, are well worth recording. The aspirations of those days are seen in this attempt at Hope Town to realise the vision of Brian Hodgson "of a hundred thousand loyal hearts and stalwart bodies of Saxon mould" settled in these hills. Remember also Lord Canning's Minute, and the endeavours of Bishop Cotton for the establishment of hill schools in India. Will not some one tell the tale in the pages of *Bengal : Past and Present* ?

†The porch and tower were added afterwards by Eden. The Durbar Hall to the north of the Shrubbery was built by Sir Charles Elliott and a new storey was added and a fine Durbar Hall completed by Sir Andrew Fraser in 1906. The Shrubbery grounds were laid out under the advice of Sir George King, I.M.S., of the Botanic Gardens, Calcutta.

House, or location, No. 12 belonged to a Mr. Dickens, it was on the slope of the hill below the Shrubbery. No. 13 was also owned by the Mr. Hepper already mentioned. It was called "Lowland Place" probably because of its situation below the present cart road and not far from the big still-increasing landslip, near the Happy Valley Tea Estate. Nos. 14 and 15 belonged to a Mr. Bruce and correspond to the sites of houses on the hillside below the Amusement Club. No. 14 still exists and is called "Caroline Villa" (the first house to start the custom now so common in Darjeeling of giving girls' names to houses, *e.g.*, Alice Villa, Catherine Villas, etc., etc.). This house is now occupied by the Nuns of the neighbouring Convent and School.

The next house is an important one, it is No. 16 on the old map, but it cannot be recognised on the picture of 1852.* This house was called "Mount Pleasant," a name still belonging to a road close by. It belonged to General Lloyd, the discoverer of Darjeeling, whose family has done much for that place.

Immediately below General Lloyd's house were the old Public Gardens, long since built over. The present gardens on the north-west slope of the Eden Sanitarium hill are now known as the Lloyd Botanical Gardens and were presented to Government in 1878 by Mr. William Lloyd, the proprietor of Lloyd's Bank, nephew of General Lloyd, who also gave the beautiful Birch Hill to the station on the condition that it was to be kept as a Park for the people, unbuilt upon for all time. Mr. William Lloyd also subscribed handsomely to the building of the new Church in 1870 and presented it with the organ. He also gave the local corps of Volunteers a Maxim Gun, said to have been the first ever brought to India. During the past eighty years, truly the Lloyd family have done much for Darjeeling. Before the gift of the Lloyd Botanical Gardens the Government Botanical Gardens were out at Rungaroon, a well-known picnic place, in the forest below Tiger Hill, across the Rungnoo valley.

To return to the old Map. No. 17 belonged to Dr. Pearson, whose name is also attached to locations Nos. 24 and 44. No. 17 marks the site of the large house now called "Southfield" between the Church and the Alliance Bank. Dr. Pearson had resided in Darjeeling and had written on the diseases of the people and the climate. In the Army List for 1841 he is shown as Surgeon to the Governor-General and as having come out in the Bengal Medical Service in the "season" of 1825.

Location No. 18 corresponds to the present bazar and No. 19 was the magazine close by the old *Kacheri*.

* A strange omission, the house below and to the left of the Church in the picture is certainly the old *Kacheri* (the Amusement Club).

The site of the old *Kacheri*, called Dr. Campbell's *Kacheri*, is clearly seen on the old map, and also (slightly below and to the left of the Church) in the picture of 1852 on the site now occupied by the Amusement Club.

We make out four *Kacheries* in Darjeeling, *vis.*, Dr. Campbell's, and another in the sixties, in a large house in the centre of the bazar, now occupied as quarters for some of the Secretariat clerks. The third was on the site of the present *Kacheri*, and when it was burned down in 1896, the present fine *Kacheri* arose from its ashes. Below the first *Kacheri* and the Church, on what is now the Victoria Gardens till recently the old Secretariat and quarters for the clerks used to stand and before that General Lloyd's house Mount Pleasant. After the fine new Secretariat was built closely, this open flat space was converted into the "Victoria Gardens," a favourite resort of the rosy-cheeked children for whom Darjeeling has ever been famous.

The site of the old *Kacheri* of Dr. Campbell was made over by the Government of Bengal in a letter, dated 16th August 1892, to the Committee of the present Darjeeling Amusement Club on the condition that the land be used solely for the purposes of a club. The ground so given over (on a sixty years' lease with the option of renewal) at the nominal rent of one hundred rupees a year was 2 acres, 3 roods, 10 poles and 90·5 feet, as the accurate measurement in the lease records it.

This Club began as a tennis club, and in its early days appears to have been in difficulties, for in 1863 the building then used as the "Assembly Rooms" was sold to a Mr. Dunn, who opened a shop there, and as the author of the *Handbook* of 1863 says, "the seats once pressed by the belles of Darjeeling are now covered with hermetically sealed lobsters and tart fruits." Besides this shop of Mr. Dunn there then was another shop kept by Mr. Doyle, situated below General Lloyd's House in what is now "Meadow Bank," a Government Office. A Mr. Chapman also had another shop, "on the road between Beechwood and the Church," which was probably the first shop on what is now called "Commercial Row" at the Chowrasta end of Auckland Road.

The present Darjeeling Club, Limited, for long known as the "Planters' Club," was started (as I am informed by Babu N. K. Chaudhuri, the Head Clerk) in 1868, in the house, below the present Alliance Bank of Simla, called "Alice Villa." It afterwards moved into its present comfortable premises, and on 13th January 1889 at the instigation of Lord Ulick Browne (the present Marquis of Sligo), then President of the Club, it was purchased from the Maharajah of Cooch Behar for 95,000 rupees. It was subsequently enlarged, and in the beginning of the year 1908 it was converted into a Limited Liability Company.

(Close by Dr. Campbell's old *Kacheri* and on the same site as the present St. Andrew's Church, stood the old Church, also called St. Andrew's, the foundation-stone of which was laid on St. Andrew's day 1843. It was built at the cost of only Rs. 9,000 by Captain G. W. Bishop of the 79th N. I., the Commandant of the local Corps of "Sebundy Sappers." It had accommodation for 150 persons, and was opened for Divine Service in October 1844. It was built of brick "stuccoed over and white washed." The author of the *Handbook* of 1863 complained of the distance soldiers had to go to the Church from Jalapahar. In 1867 St. Luke's Church was built at Jalapahar.)

The old hospital is shown on the map on the east side of the hill now topped by the Eden Sanitarium (opened on 22nd April 1883). The old hospital had three wards, one for the corps of sappers, one for the general public, and one for sick convicts from the old jail on the slope below. There was also a dispensary for out-patients.

We now come to the flat space marked H.P. on the old map. This is the present Chowrasta, from here ran and still runs a road up the ridge to the S.E., now called the Eastern Jalapahar Road. In the old map it is noted that a circular road was contemplated around the present Observatory Hill. As soon as this road was made, a "crossroad" must have existed here, but the name "Chowrasta" was not used even in 1863, and all measurements of distances within the station were taken from "Dell Corner," which is the house now, by a corruption of the word "Dell," called "The Dale."

Below the above-mentioned Eastern Jalapahar road on the east side of the same ridge is the road, then traced out and now called the Calcutta Road, which runs to Ghoom, across the big landslip below St. Paul's School. On the map this road is shown as a "new line of road traced out." At the foot of this ridge, on the west on the old map, are the words "level road being traced out." This, as the old *Gazetteer* of 1841 tells us, is the road "called the Auckland Road leading to the waterfall two miles from the old ruin," or in modern language leading from Observatory Hill to the Eden Falls and indeed on to Ghoom.* The "Old Ruin" was the remains of the old Monastery or *Gumpa*, destroyed in an old Goorkha raid as mentioned above. This new road, called after the Governor-General of the day, was laid out under Dr. Campbell's orders by the young Lieutenant, R. C. Napier, destined a quarter of a century later to become Lord Napier of Magdala. Napier was in 1841 Executive Engineer in Darjeeling. The present houses on this road called "Sligo Hall" and "Ulick Villas" were built during the years Lord Ulick Browne (the present Marquis of Sligo) resided in Darjeeling.

* In 1863 Ghoom was known as "The Saddle."

We may now follow the line of "locations" along the ridge from the Chowrasta or "Dell Corner" towards Jalapahar. "The excellent building ground along the slope" mentioned in the old map was soon occupied.

The first location on this ridge, No. 24, belonged to Dr. Pearson, above mentioned, and corresponds to the fine site of the house now known as "Benmore." Next came Mr. Bayley's location, No. 25, and following up the ridge we come to No. 26, Dr. Campbell's location. This is the site of the house still appropriately named "Campbell Cottage." The old name was "One Tree House," and curiously one young tree still marks the turn in the short avenue leading up to the house. The house afterwards came into the possession of the Cooch Behar Estate (as are so many of the houses now on this ridge). It was sold to the Planters' Club (now the Darjeeling Club, Limited) and by them, in 1908, was sold to Government for Rs. 50,000, as the Government wanted the house and its fine site to provide houses for the Superintendent of Police and the Civil Surgeon. It is to be hoped that when the new house for the Civil Surgeon is built, the old name "One Tree House" will be revived to commemorate one of the residences of the medical man who made Darjeeling.

It is, however, very clear that Dr. Campbell lived for the greater part of his life in Darjeeling in another house for long known as "Beechwood House." This is on the sites numbered 44 and 45 on the old map. In 1863 the *Handbook* clearly calls Beechwood "Dr. Campbell's old house;" the grounds were tastefully arranged and well wooded, and tradition has it that many of the big trees and rhododendrons were planted by Sir J. D. Hooker. Some local irritation was recently caused by the present owner, a German gentleman, cutting down trees and in the opinion of many spoiling his property. Part of the former grounds of this house are now opened up and built over with houses large and small, including a large public rink.* Between Beechwood and Woodlands, in 1863, were three houses belonging to Colonel Crommelin of the Engineers. These probably represent some of the houses of the Scotch Mission, and the name of one of them survives in the name "Banstead," for the road which now runs from Auckland Road past the Mission and the Turnbull Memorial School down to the railway station.

To return to the ridge and "One Tree House," the next location, No. 27, was owned by Mr. Cameron and No. 28 by Mr. Smith, the owner of the hotel, and curiously enough this is the site of the present Grand Hotel,

* The cutting up and building over of the grounds of Beechwood House, or rather the Municipality, was their way to accept the public-spirited offer of the late Mr. Andrew Wanklyn, who offered 50,000 rupees towards the purchase of the property as a convention into a public park. This would have vastly improved the centre of the town, now "hideously defaced."



CAMPBELL COTTAGE, DARIEN



SHRECHWOOD HOUSE, DARIEN
(Residence of Dr. Campbell)

Rockville. This house was largely rebuilt after the 1897 earthquake. In 1863 it appears to have been the site of a school for young ladies kept by Miss Wight. Beyond this and on a knoll to the S.E. was location No. 29; it belonged to Lieutenant Napier, afterwards of Magdala. An old house existed on this fine site till the Jubilee Earthquake of June 1897, after which the present fine villas, Nos. 1 and 2 Chevrement were built.* Below No. 29 came house No. 30, then and still called "Oak Lodge." Site 31 was not occupied in 1841. It is the site now occupied by the "Parsonage," the residence of the Rector of St. Andrew's. Following along the ridge we come to the flat site numbered 32, this is now occupied by Nos. 1 and 2 Catherine Villas (in No. 1 these words are being written). Further on are the sites of houses now known as Nos. 1 and 2 "The Ridge."

OTHER HOUSES OF INTEREST.

The old map stops here, but just beyond, on the north end of Jalapahar Hill, was a house of considerable interest in old Darjeeling. This was the house of Brian Hodgson. It had been built by Sir Herbert Maddock, who had been Resident in Nepal, when Hodgson was his Assistant. Maddock called the house "Herbert Hill," and for a similar reason we may suppose Brian Hodgson called it "Brianstone."† Maddock was Deputy Governor of Bengal in 1845 and in 1848. He retired in 1849 and was M.P. for Rochester for five years (1852-57). He died in 1870. Hodgson purchased this house from him in 1847 and lived there during his thirteen years as the "student-recluse" after his retirement from the Civil Service owing to his quarrel over Nepalese politics with the eccentric Lord Ellenborough. This house was demolished soon after 1863, and on the site was built the present residence of the Rector of St. Paul's School.‡ Hooker made "Brianstone" his headquarters and during his two years in the Himalayas, and his description of the house and the view is quoted in *Hunter's Life of Hodgson* as follows:—

"It stood in a narrow clearing of the majestic forest that then clothed the mountains of Sikkim on every side and crept up to the very walls of the few houses of which the station then consisted. It was a modest bungalow, of the ordinary Anglo-Indian type, occupying

* It has been suggested that "Little Chevrement," a certainly old house, represents Napier's house; but before 1897 an old house certainly stood on the site of Nos. 1 and 2 Chevrement, higher up on the same knoll as I.

† So spelled in the *Handbook* of 1863; Hunter, in his *Life of Hodgson*, calls it "Bryanstone."

‡ In 1866 a writer in the *Cutcliffe Review* (page 66) speaks of "the new buildings now in progress of St. Paul's School" "a link in the new chain of public schools to be founded in the Himalayas." The *Cutcliffe St. Paul's School* stood on the site of the Indian Museum. An article in the *Cutcliffe Review*, Vol. LV, March 1857, describes Hodgson's house and talks of his well laid out

the slope of a ridge 8,000 ft. high and facing north at an elevation of 7,500 ft. it commanded a view of the Snowy Himalayas unrivalled for grandeur and extent.....Immediately in front Kinchenjunga rears itself to 27,128 feet."

Well below Brianstone on the west slope of the hill lay and lies still "Woodlands." In 1863 it was the property of Dr. Collins, the Civil Surgeon, and in that year was occupied by the Bishop of Calcutta. It is now the well-known "Woodlands Hotel." Above Brianstone on the top of the hog-backed ridge, where a big house still stands, stood in 1863 the "large and commodious residence" of General Garstin* of the Engineers. In 1841 Major Garstin (as he then was) was Superintending Engineer and owned locations 43 and 46 on the old map, *i.e.*, houses below Auckland Road.

LOCATIONS AT LEBONG IN 1841.

The old *Guide and Gazetteer* of 1841 gives a further list of 28 "locations at Lebong," many of them taken up by persons who owned property in the Station of Darjeeling. Lebong was then covered by forest and the present cantonment was formerly part of the still existing Bannockburn Tea Estate. The ground had been levelled as a race course by the Gymkhana or Club; the Military Department took this over about 16 years ago and enlarged it and made the parade ground, but the Gymkhana (or Amusement Club) has still rights to the race course at times when it is not required for military purposes.

THE FIRST MISSIONARIES.

(On the Tukvar Spur to north-west of Darjeeling in 1842 were located the four German Missionaries, the first to come to these hills. They worked on the Moravian or "self-supporting system" and some of their names, Start, Niebel, Stoelke and Vernicke are still well known in the Darjeeling District.)

THE HOUSES IN 1841.

The houses in these early days were neither very substantial nor imposing. On the old map the size of a location is given as 100 square yards, and there are many occupiers of houses now who would gladly have this amount of space. The houses were all of "*wattle and dab*;" some had iron roofs (and these iron roofs plain and coloured red are still characteristic of Darjeeling). They were "mere cottages of the better sort," says the old *Gazetteer* of 1841; "single storied cottages or, if the reader prefers, villas"

* *Query*.—Was he the son of General Garstin, Surveyor-General of Bengal and Architect of the Calcutta Town Hall and the Bankipore Gola?

says Captain Hathorn in 1863. The roofs were shingled, that is "slated, so to speak, with thin slips of wood 18×4 inches, and tarred outside." These roofs were good and kept out the rain. These shingled roofs are now very rarely seen, they have given way to the ubiquitous corrugated iron.

The old *Gazetteer* map showed only 46 locations or houses in Darjeeling, but in a footnote it is added "there are now some sixty or seventy locations, and Dr. Campbell has made a drive of 16 miles round the station, including the splendid road called the Auckland Road leading to two magnificent waterfalls called the Edenfalls."*

The progress of building cannot have been very rapid, for Hooker refers to about seventy houses, and the same number is mentioned in the *Handbook* of 1863. The rent of a medium sized house in that year is put at from Rs. 80 to Rs. 100. Nowadays it will be a very poor sort of house that can be got for Rs. 100 a month.

The *Bengal Hurkaru*, of November 1840, had a note on Darjeeling in which it is remarked that:—"The only public building is the Superintendent's Cutcherry on the Dorjeling† Hill, a neat wattle and dab bungalow with an iron roof. There is an allotment for a Church and spaces for public purposes but no appearance of appropriating them. A small fort or neat stockade on the crest of Dorjeling Hill, where there yet appears the remains of an old monastery, would be ornamental and useful. A good clock is much wanted to regulate the time of the station . . . if Government cannot afford a good clock a good sundial would be very acceptable, and a morning and evening gun would be useful."

The *Hurkaru* evidently received these remarks from its "Own Correspondent." The suggestion to build a fort was not adopted, but some one evidently approved of the proposal for a sundial, for in 1863 one stood in front of the old *Kucheri*, "presented to the station by a visitor," possibly as a joke (suggests the author of the *Handbook* of 1863), for, as he says, "of what use can a sundial be in a place which is always in the clouds." The new Church built in 1870 has a fine clock, which still "regulates the time of the station."

* These two falls were in the jhora or ravine, called the Kaghjora (the crows ravine), which runs down on the north side of the hill on which the Maharajah of Cooh Behar's house. "Collinton," is. This great jhora has been converted into a huge masonry drain, as a result of the P. W. D. improvements after the great landslide of 24th September 1899. The water now runs off so fast that there is nothing left deserving of the name of fall. The upper fall above the cart road appears to have been called the Edenfalls, and a big house not far off still preserves the name. The lower falls below the cart road were called the Victoria Falls, as early as 1863.

† *Dorjeling* is probably the more correct, if less euphonious name, from *Dorje*, a thunderbolt, and *ling*, place (Waddell). Previous derivations made the word mean, the "sunny place," an inappropriate name.

THE PICTURE OF DARJEELING IN 1852.

The picture of Darjeeling which we here reproduce from an old coloured engraving, gives a good view of the station in 1852.* At first sight it is difficult to localise places on the picture, and it was not till we discovered the point from which the sketch was taken that we were able to understand it.

The original sketch was evidently made from a high point on the Western Jalapahar Road, say at the bend of the road, on the projecting spur below Edenfalls House, or possibly from a point halfway up Elysium Road.

The foreground of the picture is given in great detail, but the more important part of Darjeeling is not so clear. From this point of view, the Kinchenjunga Range appears correctly, but the lower ranges of hills are too prominent and the long ridge on which the station is built is not sufficiently emphasised.

It is, however, possible to localise all the points of the picture.

The black slope and trees on the extreme right of the picture form the upper portion of the grounds of the present Woodlands Hotel, and the ornamental garden, with stiffly laid out paths, is part of the slope below the hotel. The winding road at the bottom and right lower corner, with the quaint Highlander-like natives, is part of the Western Jalapahar Road leading up from the Auckland Road. In the left lower corner of the picture on a flat space are two houses, the nearer one used to be called "Belombre," and belonged to Colonel Crommelin of the Engineers; beyond it, close by a line of dark trees, which still exist, is the house now converted into the Lewis Jubilee Sanitarium. The well marked road beyond this row of trees is the Victoria Road, and just below it, is the house formerly called "Wolkow," now occupied by the Superintendent of the Jail, which at present stands on the slope just below.

The flat space in the lower centre part of the picture containing a sort of "summer house" is what was called Dr. Collins' "garden house," close by is his house "Woodlands" just to the right. The stiffly ornamental garden still forms part of the Woodlands Hotel "compound," between this and the central dark row of trees, is the flat space where the railway station now is. Above the ornamental garden, and towards the centre of the picture, is the large flat site, now occupied by the various buildings of the Scots Mission. Separated from the Scots Mission site by a fine row of tall trees, may be seen "Beechwood" above referred to. It is rather confusing to find the site of this house of Dr. Campbell also marked in this

* A copy of this coloured engraving still hangs in the Office of the Under-Secretary, Financial Department, in the Secretariat in Darjeeling.



picture by a single tree, for it is quite clear, from the old *Gazetteer* of 1841, that the name "One Tree" belonged to the location No. 26, the site of the house still known as "Campbell Cottage."

Above Beechwood, and to the right the picture shows the Auckland Road, constructed ten or twelve years before. Near the right upper corner of the picture there just appears a house, probably Campbell Cottage, and below it some tall trees which mark the site of the present Darjeeling Club, Limited. This portion of the view extends more to the right in the original big picture in the Secretariat, and in it the "One Tree" of "Campbell Cottage" can be seen.

Recently this picture was reproduced on a postcard and labelled "*Dorjeling, two hundred years ago*" !!! What a knowledge of history this displays!

Observatory Hill is easily made out with the group of houses still to be found on its southern end ("Ada Villa," etc.). The old church is clearly to be seen and just beyond it and slightly lower down on the picture is Dr. Campbell's old *kacheri* (the Amusement Club).

About an inch further towards the left of the picture is the large house which is still existing—"Caroline Villa."* Above this and further to the left, almost hidden by three tall trees, is the house which preceded the Shrubbery on this site. Further to the left in the same line comes the group of houses still known as "Wilson Fusti," then comes the lofty northern end of Birch Hill, and at the extreme end, close by the site of John o' Groats of the old map of 1841, was a house formerly known as "Gasson's Corner" and more recently as "Edgar's Folly."

In the centre of the picture the bare rounded hill had on its top the old Post Office and a school for Bhutia boys. This hill is much less prominent now-a-days, for it was very largely cut down in 1881 to provide room for the large buildings of the Eden Sanitarium, which was opened on 22nd April 1883. The lines and the bazar are in the same site as in the picture, but the bazar has spread widely over every available space.

Another picture of Darjeeling to-day, is given for the purpose of contrast.

As may be seen from the smooth cleared patch beyond the trees and the Sanitarium Hill, in 1852 the formidable Happy Valley landslip did not exist. The "dandy" of that day was more elaborate than the present day "dandy;" and rickshaws did not exist,—indeed they are only an importation of the last few years.

* If this old picture is to be trusted as a faithful picture of the sites of houses of 1852 then General Lloyd's house is either omitted or the old *kacheri* is omitted, which is strange. Mount Pleasant (16 on map) was on a knoll below and to the right south of the Church, now the Victoria Gardens.

THE DARJEELING ROADS.

The Auckland Road, built as we have said, by Lieutenant Napier (afterwards of Magdala) was continued by the same Engineer to Kurseong and Siliguri *via* Pankabari. This old road still exists and is called the "Old Military Road." It remained the only road to the plains till the present splendid Cart Road was made in 1861 to 1869. The Eastern Bengal State Railway reached Siliguri in 1878 and passengers then went up the hill in tongas. A road still called the "Tonga Road" runs from the Auckland Road, near Woodlands, to the Cart Road below. The Hill Railway was commenced in 1879, it reached Kurseong in 1880 and Darjeeling in 1881. A short road, which runs down past Woodlands and connects Auckland Road with the Railway Station, called "Prestage Road" commemorates the name of the Chief Engineer of this remarkable Hill Railway.

THE JOURNEY TO DARJEELING IN EARLY DAYS.

(In the old days of 1841 the journey from Calcutta was very different from the 20 hours train journey of these days. Twenty hours is long enough for a journey the same distance as from London to Edinburgh, but no appreciable acceleration is possible till the Sara or other Bridge across the Ganges is built.

Captain Herbert, who went up to Darjeeling in 1830, gives his itinerary as follows :—

Calcutta to Krishnagur	...	...	18 hours.
Krishnagur to Berhampore	...	...	15 "
Berhampore to Malda	...	...	21 "
Malda to Dinajpore	...	...	16 "
Dinajpore to Titalya	...	...	20 "
Titalya to "foot of hills"*	...	...	8 " — —
Total	...	...	98 hours.

All the roads from various parts of Bengal met at Titalya, then a place of considerable importance. It lies on the south bank of the river Mahanuddee, 15 miles from Siliguri. In 1841 it had a hotel (run by D. Wilson and Co.), a *pucca* dāk bungalow and a shop. It was regarded as the "Store Depôt for the Hills," and in 1863 the remains of old bungalows and also officers' graves could still be seen. Invalids were recommended to go up the Hughli and Jellingee rivers as far as possible. The extension of the East Indian Railway to Sahebgunge (on the "loop line") made that route

* Pankabaree.

preferable, and in 1863 this is the way recommended by Captain Hathorn. The journey in 1863 from Calcutta to Sahebgunge was then $9\frac{1}{2}$ hours (it is not very much better now), the Ganges was crossed in a steam ferry to Karagola Ghat and no less than 7 hours is put down for the river journey. Then the passenger proceeded by dāk through Purnea, Kissengunge, and Titalya to Siliguri and thence up the hill, the journey taking 70 hours in all. In 1848 Hooker took over eight days (8th to 16th April) to get from Bhagalpur to Darjeeling and it cost him Rs. 240 from Karagola Ghat to "the foot of the hills." In 1841 the cost of the journey from Calcutta for one person was Rs. 176. In 1863 Captain Hathorn calculated it at Rs. 123. It is now Rs. 49 first class.

THE CANTONMENTS OF DARJEELING.

A word now about the Cantonments of Darjeeling. The most recent is Lebung, or Alibong, as the natives more euphoniously call it. It only began to be used about 16 years ago and was formerly part of the Bannockburn Tea Estate. Four or five years ago extra barracks were built and there is now room for a whole battalion of British Troops.

The Jalapahar Cantonment was established as a convalescent depôt for European soldiers in 1848, but was used for convalescents only, during the period the old cantonment of Senchal was occupied. It is still mainly a convalescent depôt and used for the troops of the Presidency Brigade. Higher up the ridge is the more recent Katapahar, the summer station of a Mountain Battery.

The most interesting of the Darjeeling Cantonments is the long abandoned one on the top of Senchal ridge to the south of Tiger Hill. The top of this hill, 8,300 feet, was cleared and levelled and the construction of barracks commenced in 1857; they were occupied in 1860. The buildings consisted of 14 officers' bungalows, 20 barracks for the men and two hospitals, one for 64 male patients and the other for 16 female patients. The first regiment to occupy Senchal was the 6th Foot. It is difficult to understand the choice of this hill for barracks, as it is rightly called "Senchal" or the "hill of mist and fog." The only explanation offered is a quaint one given in the *Hand-book* of 1863, that the residents of Darjeeling "wished to keep Private John Smith at as respectful a distance as possible."* Captain Hathorn rightly protested against this explanation and adds that except the hospitals, the barracks were "jerry-built and flimsy;" the foundations, however, cannot have been so, as many walls and tall chimneys still remain. Senchal was abandoned as a cantonment soon after a visit of the Commander-in-Chief in

* It may be noted that the use of the expression "Private John Smith" shows that in 1863 the name "Tommy Atkins" had not come into use.

April 1867. Some of the old walls were levelled and turfed over by the Darjeeling Golf Club, which was started there in 1905. This Golf Club proudly boasts of being the highest golf club in the world (8,600 to 8,300 feet). It has thirteen holes. In 1908 a new bungalow has been built on Senchal by the Darjeeling Improvement Fund for the benefit of visitors on their way to the top of Tiger Hill to see Mount Everest. The three peaks of the Everest group (Peak 14, Mount Everest in the middle, and an unnamed peak on the left) are clearly seen on a fine day, just peeping over the top of black Singalelah. This is the only place close to Darjeeling from which this mighty mountain can be seen. To see it to perfection it is necessary to go out some forty or fifty miles along the Nepal Boundary Road, to Sandakphu or to Faloot. From those heights the "grand summits" can be seen clearly, and those who have seen them on a fine morning will appreciate the following lines of Th. Gauthier :—

*Ils ne rapportent rien et ne sont pas utiles
Ils n'ont que leur beaute, je le sais c'est bien peu
Mai moi je les prefere aux champs gras et fertiles
Qui sont si loin du ciel, qu'on y voit jamais Dieu.*

W. J. BUCHANAN, B.A., M.D. (DUB.),
Lieutenant-Colonel, I.M.S.



A Memoir of Colonel Thomas Deane Pearse of the Bengal Artillery.

PART I.—(Continued.)



THE Parliament of England had established a new Council to direct affairs in India, and on the 19th Mr. Monson and Mr. Francis arrived at Calcutta ; and on the 27th October, General Clavering took the Chief command of the Army. On the 26th November he reviewed the Bengal Artillery, which by this time was brought into an excellent state of discipline ; and General Clavering expressed himself as delighted with the corps and astonished at its performances, being superior to anything he could have expected in India, and so much to his satisfaction, that Colonel Pearse writes to General Pattison, "the performances at the review would not have been disgrace to dear old Woolwich."

TO GENERAL PATTISON.

Fort William, 23rd February, 1775.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Since my last, Sujah-ul-Dowlah ^{is} dead. Reports concerning his death are various ; but what is current in the bazaar is the following : It is a translation of a Persian newspaper, which my Moonshee is now reading to me : "Sujah-ul-Dowlah, having taken the daughter of Dundee Khawn prisoner, sent for her to his Harem, and attempted to violate her person. She had concealed a poisoned dagger, with which, whilst he was struggling with her, she stabbed him a little below the navel. He was for four months confined to his bed by the wound, which baffled the skill of all the physicians who went to his assistance ; and it was given out in the bazaar that he had contracted an evil disease. But at length he died ; and just before his death he caused the daughter of Dundee Khawn, before mentioned, to be strangled." This is nearly literally translated ; as nearly literal as a translation can be ; but mark I do not vouch for the truth of it, whatever I may believe ; and I would not have written this but to show you that he did not bear the best of characters, and so to induce to believe that I did not much exaggerate in last letter of the 27th November.

His son, Asoph-ul-Dowlah, has succeeded, and in all probability will continue to reign over Oude, if his enemies are not powerful enough to drive him out ; and that I believe will not be, though I should not wonder if the Maharattas, Seiks, Jaats, and Rohillas should join the King, and force him to carry a war against us ; and indeed, the same bazaar newspaper says that they actually have joined and marched with the intention to wage war with us.

One part of their reasoning is absolutely false ; for they say the English have actually coined Sicca Rupees in the name of their own King. The Maharattas, however, cannot gain anything but by war and confusion ; before we had the country, they received a fourth

part of the revenue. Sujah-ul-Dowlah had, with our assistance, kept them at a distance and taken possession of Korah and Allahabad, which the King had given to them. Again we have attacked them and taken Salsette, so that they have everything to hope and nothing to lose by a war ; we, on the contrary, have nothing to gain. The King surely has not any reason to love us, since we have ceased to pay him the stipulated tribute, and taken Korah and Allahabad from the Maharattas, to whom the King had given them ; so that he has nothing to expect, and, God knows, not anything to lose.

I was disappointed of my second review. It was resolved, on Sujah-ul-Dowlah's death, to march another Brigade towards Patna, and to station it at Dinapore ; but when the order was to be issued, it was found that there were not any tents ready ; for this reason they were under the necessity of taking those in which my corps was encamped, to carry on practice ; and we are, therefore, marched into the Fort from Dum-Dum, after having fired a fortnight, instead of two months ; nevertheless the General twice saw us ; and though it was the beginning, and the powder is the worst that ever was seen, yet he was well satisfied with our performance.

Lieutenant-Colonel Keating, I find, has obtained a release from the shackles which the Court of Directors formerly laid on all their Artillery. He is to rise in their Bombay Army to any rank to which it may be his turn to rise.

The death of Sujah-ul-Dowlah, and the taking of Salsette, are the only news here : whether these accidents will embroil us or not, time will quickly shew.

I like the country, climate, and people. I have good health—plenty of all good things—ease and cheerfulness. My spirits never flag now, since I have taken water, which alone I drink. I am totally changed. I know not how to grumble or complain now ; so that though you may hear me do so upon occasions, you may pronounce me not unhappy. I earnestly wish you health, and happiness, and honor, riches, in the war which I suppose will be the consequence of the death of the King of France. You ask me about iron guns : we have a great many here ; I know not where they were cast, but I know they are very indifferent. Two 12-pounders burst on the ramparts in 1770, in firing the morning and evening gun ; and one 12-pounder burst on a rejoicing day in firing salutes. It destroyed 7 Europeans and 14 or 15 natives. I excommunicated these iron guns, and substituted brass ones for salutes ; and I proved those of the iron guns which were to be used. They would not bear 9 lbs. of Europe powder ; they stood 8 lbs. only ; 1 out of 30 burst with 8 lbs. and 3 out of 5 burst with 9, which was for experiment of their real strength : for as they were short 12's, and would be medium in thickness, 8 is the proof proportion ; for I do not approve of trial by quantity. All guns should be proved by proportion, and not by arbitrary quantities ; for which no good reason can be assigned, except that Carpenter Hartwell approves it. Cartridges are made by proportion :—*ergo*, the proof ought to be so.

I have contrived a method of using the quadrant on the outside of the mortar, which at the same time gives a sight to lay them by ; and I have fixed screws to all my mortars to elevate them by, from 28° to 90° ; and they do not fall back, though they are never lashed ; and I have introduced the Desaguliers, and hit a target of 8 feet square 9 times out of 14, at 200 yards in 8 minutes ; and 9 times out of 10 in 10 minutes. I have taught my corps to make all things as they are made in the dear, dear Warren.

It was natural to expect that the new counsellors would not be received with open arms by Mr. Hastings, as it was generally reported throughout the Settlement that they came out to prevent abuses which had prevailed. They were anxious to possess themselves of all information regarding the

late transactions of Government ; and, upon a part of the papers relating to the Benares treaty and the Rohilla war being withheld from their examination, on Mr. Hastings' plea of their being private and confidential between himself and Mr. Middleton, Agent at the Vizier's Court, an open rupture and division took place.

The Council now consisted of Mr. Hastings as President, and Mr. Barwell, on one side ; and General Clavering, Mr. Monson and Mr. Francis, at determined variance, on the other. Colonel Pearse, being warmly attached to Mr. Hastings, may be considered as writing in all his letters which concern him and his Government, with those feelings of partiality which a knowledge of these circumstances would presuppose. Perhaps no man's character was ever so enigmatical as Mr. Hastings', and in no cause were adverse parties and feelings ever more warmly agitated.

Colonel Pearse's correspondence breaks off for a time at this period. The unhappy internal dissensions which prevailed were carried to so high a pitch as to threaten the very existence of the British Government in India, and all confidence in private friendship was at an end. During this interval, however, poor Nuncomar suffered ; of which Colonel Pearse, probably as he could not approve, never makes mention in any subsequent letter. General Clavering, Colonel Monson and Mr. Francis constituting a majority in Council, the reins of Government had fallen into their hands, and their constant object was to oppose Mr. Hastings in every instance.

In May 1775, he writes in a short letter to General Pattison :—

I make it a rule never to write news now, because our letters are most commonly opened, as I am convinced this will be, because it will be expected that everybody will be writing about the dissensions which prevail amongst us. I endeavour to steer clear of either party, because I love both ; but though I am silent, the public papers will be full enough ; and you will know all, perhaps better than we do on the spot.

November, 1775.

Poor Hastings ! dear Hastings ! worthy man ! the friend of the Company, and their service ! the guardian angel of the settlement, has been harassed, abused, beset !

In the Military line Mr. Hastings' power is greatly curtailed by General C— ; he chooses to be an enemy to every one distinguished by the Governor's friendship, or who distinguishes the Governor for his friend.

Let us hope for better times, and in the meantime be as happy as we can.

Those who either loved or were loved by Hastings, became immediately the object of C—'s hatred and resentment. Hastings had been my friend before C— arrived ; and I esteemed him too much to do as others had done—that is, turned their backs on their old friends to court their new ones. C—, therefore, marked me as one of the Government set, and accordingly he has uniformly done everything to thwart and hurt me, and everything I have asked for myself he refused.

He instituted a Board of Ordnance and made me a member of it ; took all my authority away, and made me a cypher. I was hurt, and complained, as he had put into the Board

a Lieutenant-Colonel Dow, the translator of a miserable history of Hindoostan and the author of two wretched plays. This man is Commissary-General. The Commissary-General is Controller of the Military Accounts. He uniformly attacked me and my Department and I defended myself and officers. This created disputes; and as I was wounded, I was warm; and thus, because my opinions were always contrary to D——'s and D——is the General's tongue, brains, head, and heart, it was as bad as attacking himself.

By heavens I speak truth without a word of exaggeration! the three who came out hang together, and, of course, everything is given to their own set. If ever I spoke truth in my life, I do it now.

Lady Anne Monson is a fine old lady; everybody likes and respects her, the Miss Claverings, and the old lady; the two former are divine creatures, and the latter very agreeable. With this addition to our settlement, if the General had abided by his first declaration that they were not sent out for retrospection, but to prevent errors in future, we should have been very happy; but when the General heard informers, and learnt the abuses which in the unsettled state of the country were unavoidable, he immediately conceived that there were not any honest men, except those who gave the information; and blinded by his jealousies, his passions, his avarice, and his disappointment, he took for zeal what proceeded from the very worst of principles: for there never was an informer who was not such from malice, avarice, or envy, either separate or conjoined.

I so much detest the principles and name, that even if I knew of evil I would conceal it, rather than deserve this epithet; but this very honesty of principle makes me still more unfit for his purposes and increases his hatred.

The Board of Ordnance first met in May 1776.

Early in November, 1776, Colonel Monson died, and thus from Mr. Hastings' casting vote, the power again came into his hands.

Several shocks of earthquake were felt this year in India; one of them is thus described: Colonel Pearse writes to General Desaguliers:—

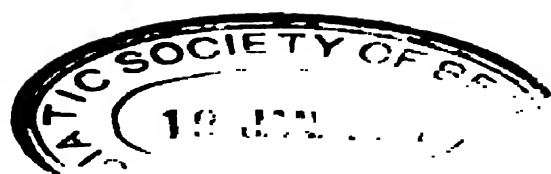
18th December, 1776.

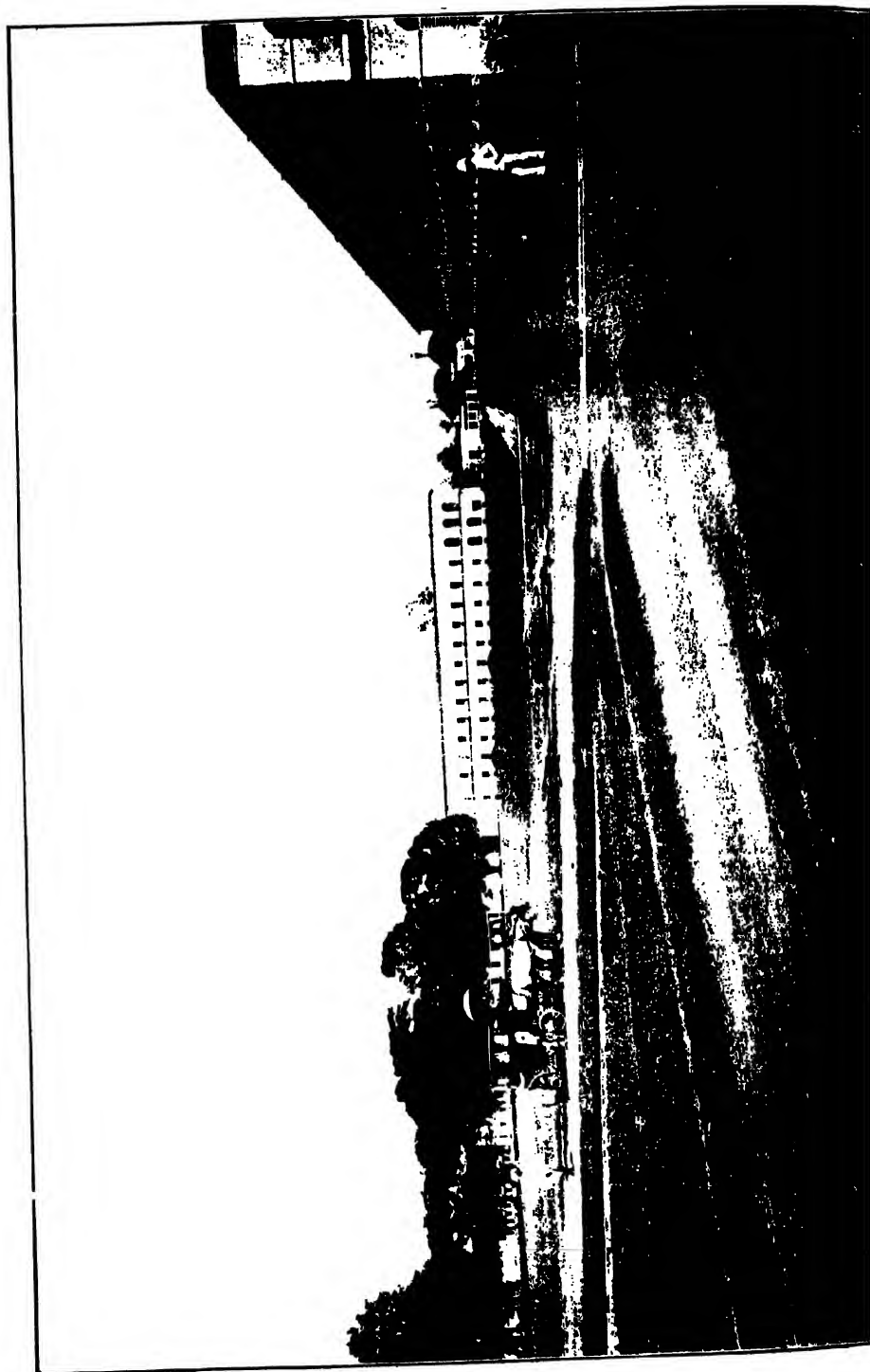
On the 8th instant we had a shock of an earthquake. It began with a shaking of the earth which made the windows and venetians rattle extraordinarily loud 20'. I sat patiently and heard the noise; and then having found what was the cause, I ran out, and when I had reached the ramparts, I felt the earth in violent motion, wave running after wave, not perceptible to my eye, it being dark.

"The earthquake began at 7h. 46m. 5s.; the grand wave* stopped my astronomical clock at 7h. 47m. 15s.; at 7h. 49m. all was over. At Chittagong the shock was felt at 8h. 8m.; at Patna about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7; now the first is east of us about 20', add the latter west about as much: this shews the difference of latitude considered, that the shock was instantaneous, through a tract of about 800 miles. At Chittagong it made the water rush on the shore like a large wave, which suddenly rose and fell from 3 feet to 7. This is the most violent earthquake I have ever felt, and I have felt several: two this year before it, and one the same evening at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9.

"Doth not the instantaneity of the shock for agitation of the earth through so vast an extent plainly prove that a real earthquake is perfectly an electrical phenomenon? To me it is most evident, and the more I consider the subject, the more I am confirmed of my

*[Ground mass?]





opinion. A real earthquake I distinguish from those in the neighbourhood of volcanos. These I call shakings of the earth ; and they may be occasioned by both causes : that is, either by electricity, when the volcanos are not in violent irruption, or by violence of the explosion when they are."

TO MR. MULIER.

January, 1777.

I have made a simple instrument for describing parabolas and hyperbolas. I will send you drawings of them. I intend sending it to the Royal Society, together with some astronomical observations.

I must tell you too, that I have contrived a method of grinding specula to the shapes of all Conic Sections, and my machine will be set to work soon for that purpose. Last year I sent to Dr. Maskelyne a complete meteorological journal of the weather for one year ; and shall send him also the construction of my wind-gauge ; notwithstanding Dr. Lind of Edinburgh has been taught by his countryman, Captain Kydd, to make one of the same kind, but portable. Mine was drawn in 1774, and shewn to Kydd, and in 1775 Lind's was printed in the Philosophical transactions. I shall take care to secure my Parabolic compasses by sending them before anybody can give an account of them.

You mention in your Artillery, tubes which fire the cartridge without piercing it ; such were in use here when I arrived. They are only common copper tubes, lined with mealed powder, so as to have a free passage through the middle of the powder, and it is inconceivable how great the force of the fire is. The flame strikes through the thickest cartridge. They used to peick the cartridge, but I have left it off and cut the tubes shorter, and they never miss when they are good ; but my labours are all in vain here : I cannot get thanks : at home, I should get money and thanks too.

24th March, 1777.

I have had my corps reviewed twice : first by the Governor, who was excessively pleased, and thanked us in orders ; and next, by the General, who also thanked us. It was our good performance forced the General's thanks ; he would have been better pleased to have found fault : first, because we pleased the Governor ; next, because I commanded and had myself disciplined them.

TO GENERAL PATTISON.

" 25th March, 1777.

" MY DEAR FRIEND,

" I have had the good luck to invent an instrument for laying mortars ; and I have applied a screw to elevate them ; all which, as it is red hot from the forge of invention, must be new to you.

" I have so little interest with the Directors, that I thought it might be of service to send home a full description of the contrivance : especially as it has answered my most sanguine expectations, and has surprised everybody here.

" I shewed it to the Governor at the review, which honor he conferred upon the corps. Captain Farmer of the Royal Navy was there. He saw how well it answered. I believe I really was happy that day. Not one

circumstance had I to lessen the pleasure I received from the good performance of my corps, as a Battalion of Infantry, as a Battalion of Artillery with 16 cannons, and as a body of Artillery on service in their batteries : for we went through all these exercises, and equally well.

"The Saturday following, General Clavering reviewed us, and what gave me most pleasure was, to hear that he had said in private, he had reviewed most of the King's Regiments, and never saw any perform better."

TO GENERAL DESAGULIERS.

" 26th March, 1777.

"The newspapers have astonished me. I there find that a gun of your invention has been fired 22 times in a minute. Although it is impossible any gun can stand this 10 minutes, yet it is an amazing performance, nor can I conceive how it is done."

"I have introduced your instrument, and we can hit a target 8 feet square, at 200 yards, 9 times out of 10 indeed when once we have hit it, it is very difficult to miss ; and we fire 10 rounds in 8 minutes."

TO SIR ROBERT BAKER.

" 25th March, 1777.

"I have written to Pattison, and to Desaguliers, and to my friend and preceptor Muller, on the subject of an instrument of my invention for laying mortars.

"I have to apologize for the liberty I take in sending a box to you, but more so when I come to make my request that you will present the contents of it to the Royal Society, of which I understand you are a member. The box contains a model of an instrument for describing parabolas, with the alteration necessary to make it describe hyperbolas. I send it, though in an unfinished state, to secure it to myself lest I should be served as I was about my wind-gauge. There is one so exactly like it in the Transactions, from Dr. Lind of Edinburgh, who does not say it is his own invention, that from the time it appeared, and from the discourses I had with Kydd whether a fluid would not be better than a weight I cannot help thinking Kydd has sent home this instrument to Lind, or at least a full drawing of it. Now Kydd, having once seen it, made me several subsequent visits, and always about the wind-gauge. His, indeed, is portable, and mine was for a weathercock ; his is executed, and mine only drawn ; but nevertheless I do conceive that I have better claim to the wind-gauge than he can have. The fluid, and the different fluids to be used occasionally, were all talked of here in very nearly the same words.

"You wish for the dimensions of the Observatory at Benares : I will send home a model of it next year, to be presented to the Royal Society, if you please ; for I shall send it to you as your own."

TO MR. MULLER.

"26th March, 1777.

Are all our Artillerists asleep? I do not hear of any improvements at home : for I cannot think the introduction of a paltry 3-pr. upon a galloper carriage is one, though Congreve constructed the carriage, and Phillips is the gun. The people of this country use swivels which they fire from the backs of camels. The creature kneels down for man to point the gun. Now I am persuaded this is as good as the 3-pr. sling gun. Perhaps if somebody would put it into Phillips' head, he might persuade Lord Townsend to send to Arabia for camels, unless he has caught the contagion and believes that all are rogues, knaves and fools on this side of the sea. I hope was not a specimen of your good things, the virtuous, or the noble, that was sent out to us for our general Council in 1774. They gave but a bad idea of the produce of your island.

In consequence of the death of General Sir John Clavering, in August 1777, Brigadier-General Giles Stibbert, became provisional Commander-in-Chief, and Colonel Pearse writes to his uncle, Admiral Mann :—

"Fort William, 16th January, 1778.

"I told you how miserable Clavering made us ; in joy of heart I tell you he is no more.

"Mr. Hastings' Agent had made what he thought a surrender of the Chair at home ; the Directors had accepted the resignation, and Clavering was to succeed : but it was all provisional ; it was not to take place without his pleasure ; his resignation therefore was not complete : what they had granted was merely leave to resign if he pleased.

"On the receipt of the news which arrived on the 19th June 1777, the old man demanded the keys, and looking upon himself as Governor-General, he actually took the oaths and summoned a Council in his own name. Mr. Hastings, who was the real Governor, and who had not resigned, and Mr. Barwell, composed the majority in Council ; and they took the steps necessary to prevent the Madras game* from being played. But matters were here quite different : the whole settlement adored Mr. Hastings, and as perfectly detested Clavering ; the whole Army were of the same way of thinking ; the Judges gave the opinion unanimously, that the Chair was not vacant, and the notification of this opinion gave universal satisfaction. Such was the unanimity of the Army against Clavering, that his attempts to form a party were absolutely vain. The chagrin this defeat occasioned, sunk deep into his mind : from that day the seeds of death began to shoot—his inveteracy increased—he began to talk of what he would do—whom he would make repent—and so forth ; but death stepped in and stopped his career and

* The arrest and imprisonment of Lord Pigot, in 1776, by his opponents in Council at Madras.

saved your friend : for I was one who was to have been sacrificed to his resentment and malignity.

"Peace now reigns amongst us ; we are again a happy people. Clavering's name is hardly ever mentioned, and never with respect, except by five or six at most ; I mean of those who do yet remember him ; but the greater part know they have escaped from a great danger. His opinion of all who were before him was uniform ; and though to carry on business he was obliged to select some, yet they all knew he meant to fill their places by another set, which he hoped to obtain from England. It may be said this is mere supposition ; to prevent which, take this which follows as a proof :—

"About 15 commissions for Captains were vacant, with others also in the inferior ranks. As was always usual, it was proposed to fill up the commissions before the ships arrived, to prevent the mortification which must be the consequence of appointments from home, and which would be infinitely worse if those were superseded for whom commissions had been long vacant. To this he objected, and urged a reason, that he expected officers from England to fill the vacancies. You need not wonder now that the whole army took the alarm, and looked upon the man who ought to have been their protector, as their inveterate enemy ; they did so, and he felt it to his death.

"The promotion took place to his great mortification. As I had several vacancies, I used my utmost endeavours to get them filled ; and this he called, taking an active part against him. I gave him the list for promotion ; he muttered something, the words of which I could not hear, but the meaning was, he would not forward it ; but as he found the promotion would be moved and carried, he was at length forced to give in the list. Thus, doing barely my duty gave offence, and was deemed taking a part against him. Under such a man, who could hope for justice ? but gone he is, and may we never fall under the lot of such another !"

TO GENERAL PATTISON.

"You were preparing to go to India House about the Madras revolution ; very nearly had we one in this place, but the hatred of all ranks for the deceased prevented his using the military power to take by force the Chair, as was done at Madras. The General, by the advice of one Folk,* sent to demand the keys from Mr. Hastings. He also summoned a Council in his own name, as Governor-General, and before the only Member of Council (Mr. Francis) who attended and the Secretary, this Folk, and one Laccam, he took the oaths and usurped the Chair ; he sent for the Persian translator, and ordered him to translate the proclamation into Persian, and to make

* Fowke.

known his appointment to the Chair ; and he drew out orders for the garrison to acknowledge and proclaim him.

" The Persian translator, Sir John D'Oyly, a man of great spirit, truth, and honor, begged to decline doing it, till he knew the authority, as hitherto he had not been acquainted with any change of Government. The General gave his own orders, and shewed him the paragraph of the Directors' letter, on which he grounded his right to the Chair. Sir John read it over very attentively, and more than once, and then politely again declined ; being ordered, he refused and left him. Whilst this was transacting at Government House, Mr. Hastings was sitting in Council of Revenue with Mr. Barwell, at the Revenue Council House, carrying on the common business, and little suspecting that it had entered the General's mind to act the farce that was carrying on ; but he was soon obliged to lay aside the Revenue business to consider a letter which he then received from General Clavering, demanding the keys, and declaring himself to be Governor-General. He instantly took the necessary precautions, sent his orders into the Fort to the Commanding Officer to prevent his being surprised into any act of disobedience by the orders he might receive from General Clavering, acquainting him that the General demanded the Chair and keys, that he had sent to inquire the opinion of the Judges, and was determined to abide by their opinion ; but in the meantime he commanded that no other person should be received as Governor-General, and that General Clavering should not be suffered to enter the Fort. It happened to be second in command and was accordingly sent for. The guards were strengthened, the gates shut, and it became necessary to endeavour to find how men stood affected. A few moments were sufficient to do that ; for unanimity prevailed, and all equally dreaded the change. The Judges unanimously declared their opinion, that the Chair was not vacant ; that Mr. Hastings' resignation was not, nor could not be full at home ; that all the orders from home indicated that it was something to be done in future, and at his own option ; not completed, nor binding on him to complete it.

" The consequence was that Mr. Hastings and Barwell declared his (General C.'s) Commission null and void, made so by his own acts ; and they therefore declared that he should not again be summoned to Council, or hold any command or power whatever.

" The Judges, however, gave it as their opinion that there was not in India any power competent to remove a Member of Council from the Board. To show the moderation of Mr. Hastings, he acquiesced in the opinion of the Judges, and suffered the General, or Governor-General self-elected, to resume his command and the functions of his office.† His death, however, soon

† For the story of this transaction see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. I, pp. 47-53, Vol. II., pp. 230-233.

relieved us all, and I esteem it to be the luckiest event that has happened to the Company, if not to the nation.

"General Clavering I know you told me was your friend; it may therefore seem presumptuous in me to say so much, but I merely narrate, and adhere to facts only, which could be asserted by numbers. You know Clavering as a private gentleman; I know him as a man in power: this makes the difference of our opinions; for certain it is that power changes the nature of men totally; and the more I examine men and manners, the more I am convinced that every man has his price, and that we all should show how prone the heart of man is to evil, if our price were offered.

"General Clavering's knighthood was proclaimed by a salute of 17 guns on the 1st July. I went to him at the head of my corps on that day and addressed him thus: 'Sir, the corps of Artillery which I command, beg leave to pay their respects, and to congratulate you on occasion of the honor which his Majesty has been pleased to confer upon you.' He hardly bowed, turned from me with a frown, and selected from my corps a subaltern officer, whom he accosted by name, took him by the hand, inquired how he did, then turned short from twenty officers and myself, who had waited on him, without another word. After some little time the whole retired, shocked at the incivility they had met with. The other corps avoided the like mortification by not going.

"I have not neglected my professional studies, I assure you, as I hope my new mortar instrument will shew you. You may judge of the labor I had to make these instruments which I have now completed, one for each mortar, when I tell you that there is not an instrument maker in the country, and that I have been forced to bore barometer tubes to make my levels. I was first obliged to contrive how, and then to teach others the method; after which I was obliged to learn how to close and fill them, but difficulties soon vanish when a man is resolved. The dividing quadrants I am obliged to perform entirely with my own hands; and so I am forced to put them together, and adjust them for use. Thus I have been obliged to learn a trade; perhaps it may be lucky for me, as I may be forced to quit this service to earn my bread elsewhere."

"Fort William, 18th January, 1778."

Colonel Pearse, during this year, paid great attention to the interior of Fort William, proposing many alterations for the purpose of better providing for the health and comfort of the Garrison; also several very able memorials, showing the state of the corps and praying for alterations, were submitted to Government, the subsequent adoption of which have tended, in no small degree, to the prosperity of the corps.

In the beginning of 1778, a detachment of Artillery under Major Bailey, called the Bombay detachment, went on service from Bengal, with an army under Colonel Leslie. This force was appointed to march across India to support the Bombay troops in restoring Ragobah in the Government of Poonah. In consequence of the want of European Artillery several companies of Golundauze, or Native Artillery, had been raised at the suggestion of Colonel Pearse and brought into fine discipline; and the following order, which was issued by Lieutenant-Colonel Goddard in camp, reflects very high credit upon the corps; as a part of them marched with Colonel Leslie's detachment. Colonel Leslie dying on the 3rd October, Colonel Goddard had succeeded to the command.

Copy of order by Lieutenant-Colonel Goddard, 1st November 1778:—

The unmilitary and unexampled spirit of disaffection to the service, which has so manifestly displayed itself in the frequent desertions from the corps of Cavalry and Infantry within few days, is become a matter of the most serious and important consideration.

The Commanding Officer, therefore, thinks it necessary to declare his sentiments upon the occasion fully to the Army, and to express the indignation and surprise he feels at such conduct, as well as the astonishment and displeasure the report of it will create in the minds of the Honorable the Governor-General and Council after the particular indulgences they continue to confer upon the Sepoys in their service, by the superior pay and other advantages they receive above all other troops in Hindoostan, which they enjoy at ease and luxury within the Company's provinces for years.

This is a proof of ingratitude too striking and too injurious to the characters of soldiers to admit of any excuse; that under the circumstances of our present situation, with the probability of an enemy to feel the force of the British arms they should hourly desert their colours from which they have derived, and still may derive, a plentiful support on account of the partial inconveniences to which they are subjected on any particular occasions of active service.

The Commanding officer, with much pleasure, excepts the corps of Artillery in the foregoing observations. Their steadiness, fidelity, and military conduct claim his particular thanks; and he desires the Commanding officer will assure himself that he will make proper mention of their merits to the Honorable the Governor-General in Council.

In July 1778, intelligence was received in Bengal that hostilities had commenced in Europe between the French and English. The public declaration of war, however, had not reached India*; notwithstanding which the British Government of India, not doubting the fact and conceiving the act justified by prudence, seized upon the French settlements of Chandernagore, Masulipatam and Carical; and sent an army against Pondicherry, which was the only strong place of arms remaining in possession of the French in India.

The Madras Army took the field, under Sir Hector Munro, to lay siege to Pondicherry, on the land side; and the British squadron, under

* The writer of the *Memoir* is in error. News of the war was received in Calcutta on July 7th. Chandernagore was seized on the 10th.

Sir Edward Vincent, sailed from Madras, to attack the settlement by sea. The French squadron under Monsieur Tronjolly, of superior force to the English, was attacked on the 10th August; and though the fleets were engaged upwards of an hour with great fury, the only advantage gained on the part of the English was, that the French ships sheered off, and the English, being disabled in their rigging, could not overtake them.

Sir Edward Vernon, having refitted his squadron, sailed into Pondicherry Roads on the evening of the 21st, which the French fleet did not oppose, and under favor of the night escaped. The public notification of the war did not reach Bengal, however, until 29th November following, when Colonel Pearse writes to his uncle, Admiral Mann, as follows :—

"Fort William, 30th November, 1778.

"The war which we heard of yesterday, I mean the declaration, (for we have taken Pondicherry and Chandernagore and are gone against Mahé,) will, I presume, so much employ you, that I hope you will excuse my sending home, a power of attorney, making my friend Lionel Darrel my joint attorney with you, as the war which is to rage for these 10 years, perhaps, or until Carthage is destroyed, will no doubt give you full employment."

TO LIONEL DARREL, ESQ.

"Pondicherry fell in October last, after a siege that made us all despair. We fitted out a fleet, if our ships may be called so; two of 40 guns each went to assist at Pondicherry, under Joe Price, the other two fell down a day or two ago under Richardson. Our Army was augmented, and my corps came in for its share; two companies were added, and three battalions of Native Artillery, called Golundauze; they are in fact the same we had, being raised from the pick of Lascars, but with European officers to command them.

"Three regiments of Cavalry were raised. Goddard is the Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant of the Cavalry Brigade. Leslie was on an expedition with Goddard. Leslie died—Goddard commands it—Stibbert commands in chief—Ironside is coming into command here—Morgan commands at Berhampore—Hampton (now a Lieutenant-Colonel) commands at Cawnpore and Upton at Chunar; these are all my seniors now.

"Our fleet had a fight with a very unequal French fleet off Pondicherry; and though we were deemed the victorious party, we could not boast of any decisive advantage at sea, till one of their fleet was taken, and the rest, in consequence, went off. By the time this happened, Pondicherry was then invested or nearly so. The batteries were opened on the 17th September with 28 cannon and 27 mortars; and the place surrendered on the 19th October after a most gallant defence and very tedious siege.





SOUTH MOAT OF OLD CAMBING
DIAMOND HARBOUR RO'



View of Moat and Cambing in Diamond Harbour

"The capitulation will disgrace our annals for ever. Belcombe called us *banditti*—said we attacked before war was declared—and at last made us confess we were what he called us, by stipulating that the place should not be destroyed till we knew there was war—glossed it over by saying 'till we receive advices from Europe.' An army is gone against Mahè,* the only place the French have left."

In November 1778, Colonel Pearse received intelligence of his father's death at an advanced age. The ease of his latter days had been secured by constant annual remittances from his son, not only for his own support, but for a daughter's, the sister of Colonel Pearse, for whose maintenance he continued to send home a handsome income.

The Council of Bengal and Madras were at this time struggling with internal dissensions, giving rise to all the violence of party spirit amongst the European population of the two Presidencies. Violent as these were, and destructive of the peace of the community, another source of animosity now appeared, originating from the proceedings of the Supreme Court of Judicature and its attempts to extend its jurisdiction. This Court had been constituted by Act of Parliament in 1773. The Judges were appointed by the King, from which the power of Court emanated. The Court was framed of a Chief Justice and three Puisne Judges. It was a Court of Common Law, a Court of Equity, a Court of Oyer and Terminer, and Gaol delivery; an Ecclesiastical Court, and a Court of Admiralty. The principal object of Parliament in constituting this Court was, to secure the pure administration of the English Law to the subjects of the British Government in India, and by appointing Judges on fixed and liberal salaries to prevent the abuses of Judicature, by securing the emoluments of the Judges from increase or diminution by the payment of fees. The Parliament enacted that a sufficient salary should be fixed for the Judges, and that no additional emoluments, in the shape of fees by suitors, or in any other form, should accrue from their judicial functions. The principle was honorable to the Parliament of Britain; but when the King's Court proceeded to act in India with unlimited powers, the authority of the Supreme Council of the East India Company was paralyzed. The clashing of the two authorities had been foreseen by many, but the Parliament had neglected to provide against it, by prescribing bounds for either. The Supreme Court began to exert its unlimited sway in 1774, and held out to the native population, that they had all the rights of free Englishmen, and that, in point of law, there was no inferiority; that their power was above that of the Courts of the East India Company, and that the natives were at liberty to throw themselves for redress from the sentences of

* Mahè [properly Mahé] surrendered on the 19th of March 1779.

these Courts, upon the Supreme Court, where they would obtain redress and protection.

It may well be supposed that this language to the Asiatics, whose forefathers for generations had been accustomed to despotic government, was not very applicable to them, nor could the natives readily apply it to use, as they could not comprehend the *bonus* which the Parliament of England had given them. Ridiculous as well as distressing and vexatious misapplications of the blessing on their part daily occurred, in which it was discovered too late, that the authority of the Supreme Council was set at nought. Moreover, the principles of the English law were in many instances at direct variance with their religious and moral laws; and the natives, both Hindoos and Mussulmen, soon began to look upon the operations of the Court with horror and consternation. The evils (says Mr. Mills) not of apprehension merely, but of actual suffering, to which it exposed them, were deplorable. They were dragged from their families and affairs, with the frequent certainty of leaving them to disorder and ruin, any distance, even as great as 500 miles, to give bail at Calcutta; a thing which, if they were strangers and the sum more than trifling, it was next to impossible they should have in their power, or be consigned to prison for all the many months which the delays of English Judicature might interpose between this calamitous stage and the final termination of the suit. Upon the affidavit, into the truth of which no inquiry whatever was made—upon the unquestioned affidavit of any person whatever a person of credibility or directly the reverse, no difference, if the individuals prosecuted were within the jurisdiction of the Court, the natives were seized, carried to Calcutta, and consigned to prison, where, even if it was afterwards determined that they were not within the jurisdiction of the Court, and, of course, that they had been unjustly prosecuted, they were liable to lie for several months; from whence they were dismissed totally without compensation. Instances occurred in which the defendants were brought from a distance to the Presidency, and when they declared their intention of pleading, that is, objecting to the jurisdiction of the Court, the prosecution was dropped; in which case the prosecution was again renewed, the defendant again brought down to Calcutta, and again, upon his offering to plead, the prosecution was dropped. The very act of being seized was, in India, a circumstance of the deepest disgrace, and so degraded a man of any rank, that, under the Mahommedan Government, it was never attempted, except in case of the greatest delinquency.

It was soon found that the payment of the revenues was evaded by the natives; and the public servants of the Company, in endeavouring by the customary modes to obtain payment of them, subjected themselves to the

operations of the Supreme Court, and were apprehended for trial and brought to Calcutta ; and this threat was held out *in terrorem* over all the Company's servants. The Judges at the time were, Chief Justice Sir Elijah Impey, Mr. Justice Hyde and Mr. Justice LeMaistre.*

The King's Judges at last proceeded so far as to require the Secretary to the Council to attend as evidence in the Supreme Court ; and not only himself, but the members of the Council were threatened with action for not producing papers containing the most secret transactions of Government.

The natives of the Province of Bahar drew up a petition to the Governor and Council, praying for protection against the process of the Supreme Court, or if that could not be granted, for leave to relinquish their arms, that they might retire to another country.

Paltry Attornies, promulgating the authority of the Supreme Court, spread themselves over the country, encouraging the native spirit of litigation, and, acting under the sanction of the King's Judges, proceeded in several instances to execute processes against all ranks at the suits of people of the lowest description ; and one Attorney at Patna proceeded by force to the house of the Phousdar of Dacca, against whom a process of arrest had been instituted by him, and breaking down the gate of his house, entered by force ; and, in the affray which took place, the father of the Phousdar was wounded by a sword, and the Phousdar himself dangerously wounded by a pistol shot from the Attorney. This violent proceeding was justified by the Supreme Court : and innumerable instances of violence supported by law took place.

Mr. Rons† was at this time Advocate-General of the East India Company, a man of superior character and wisdom, and fortunately, in this crisis of affairs, was at hand to afford his advice to the Supreme Council. At length the Governor-General and Council came to the resolution of issuing a notification, by the advice of Mr. Rons, to all Zemindars, Chaudharcees, and Talukdars in the three Provinces, that, except in the two cases of being British servants, or bound by their own agreement, they were not to consider themselves as subject to the Supreme Court, or to obey its process ; and the provincial Chiefs were forbidden to lend a military force to aid the Court in carrying its mandates into effect. The Judges upon this appeared to lose all temper ; they imprisoned and confined Mr. Naylor, Attorney of the Company, and commenced a criminal prosecution against him. The Governor-General and Council were individually served with a summons from the Supreme Court, which, by the advice of Mr. Rons, and through him, they delivered their declaration that they would not submit to.

* The writer ignores Mr. Justice Robert Chambers.

† The name was Rouse.

A petition to Parliament had been prepared and signed by the principal British inhabitants of Bengal against the exercise of the Supreme Court ; and the Governor-General and Supreme Council drew out another. Colonel Pearse was, it will appear, a principal in the first petition and the reader will therefore excuse this long digression.

The following letter written to Colonel Pearse's uncle, Admiral Mann, explains the circumstances which connected him with the petition to Parliament against the Supreme Court :—

TO ADMIRAL MANN.

Fort William, 4th April, 1779.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"When I wrote the P.S. to my letter of the 7th February I did not know that I should find it necessary to be more particular ; but now I perceive I am in danger, and must beg your aid and support.

"The situation of this settlement is, and has been these four years, most deplorable. Party spirit tore us in such a manner that all trust and confidence was at an end. On the one hand, Clavering and his party threatened every one with ruin and dismission ; on the other, the Court of Justice excited the natives to persecution of individuals, and disrespect to the Government and the Europeans in general. The people, accustomed for two thousand years to a most perfectly despotic government, were at once to be put under the Laws and Courts of the people who boast they are the most free of any on earth : licentiousness of course must be introduced instead of liberty. But though this consequence was inevitable—though the Europeans saw the conquered people treating them with the utmost disregard, considering themselves as the superiors, and persecuting their conquerors for the acts committed in the act of conquering ; yet, because the Supreme Court served to check the fury of the Clavering faction, we acquiesced under the tyranny of the Court, and made use of that engine to keep off the other. The Court therefore, though the most dangerous evil of the two, was accounted our preserver, and as you may have seen, a petition to the Judges was presented in which they are held forth as the saviours of Bengal. 'Tis true the number of believers was but small ; and that the whole was the mere act of the party which supported Mr. Hastings, is most certain. The Court encouraged by the reception, and ever aiming at power, has gradually extended its authority over all persons and places. The public have suffered the greatest losses by it, the wheels of government have been clogged, the revenues diminished, and the people have grown insolent ; but these, except the last, were matters of small consideration to the body of inhabitants, nor could anything have made them pay attention to them but

personal wrongs and injuries ; these alarmed their fears ; and it is an effect of fear to make a man open his eyes, ears, and mouth.

" It is not necessary for me here to enter upon the particular circumstances which first drew the attention of the body of the people ; it will be sufficient to say that something did happen, and that in an instant all united as against a common enemy.

" Ever since Europeans came to India until the introduction of this Court, it was the custom for them to exercise over their immediate servants the power of inflicting slight punishments to compel the people they employed to do the duty they were set about ; they found it the custom of the country, and necessity and example made them adopt it ; no man ever thought it wrong till the introduction of the Court ; but a set of men, bred up in the prejudices of our Courts, were, in an advanced age, lifted out of the middle of London into the midst of a set of people who, having conquered a mighty Kingdom and being very few in number, were under the necessity of adopting many of the manners and customs of those they had conquered. The clamours raised against the whole body, for the actions of a few individuals, had been used to support the party that wanted to partake of those riches which they saw with envy in the hands of the Company's servants. The minds of lawyers were inflamed by the general uproar, and their prejudices were put into motion. They had hardly set foot on shore before they began to talk of the custom before mentioned, and to suggest to the people that they were sent to protect them against the Europeans, and that a remedy might be had at law for those who suffered corporal punishment from the hand of their employers. Several servants whose masters had given them slight boxes on the ear, ran to complain ; their masters were summoned and frightened into compromise. But the alarm thus occasioned amongst us was so great, that these lawyers soon learnt it was necessary to temporize, and at last they owned it was necessary we should have the power, and they themselves should use it, as we did. Nevertheless the starving dependants of the Court did from time to time instigate the natives to institute suits, and undertook the causes to share the damages. At length it happened that a suit was instituted against a man who was determined to defend it ; but the glaring partiality of the Court to the natives, in all cases where Europeans were concerned (which you may readily suppose when you consider that the lawyers wished to persuade the natives they were their protectors), determined him to demand a jury. This, which is the birthright of every British subject, was refused ; it was declared that the King had given to the Court the right of jurymen ; they were to judge of the fact according to what was right and to decree the punishment ; that they had no right to grant juries in any civil suits or pleas ; that they were restrained by their charter from granting them ; that the Act

of Parliament was not passed to protect the British subjects, but to protect the natives against the British subjects ; that Magna Charta did not extend to India, and those who were so fond of it must enjoy it in England.

" I hardly need to tell that the consequence was general dismay ; the words passed like fire through the settlement, and every creature found he was attacked and stripped of his birthright-privileges ; all now united as against a dragon who would devour them. Some who had time and abilities for the task, returned and drew up a petition to the Court, claiming the right to juries ; but knowing the probable answer, from the declaration before mentioned, they prepared also a petition to Parliament praying for the right, and for the redress of many other grievances which this Court had introduced. I give you my word of honor I was not one who helped to draw it up, but I own I wish I had been. After they were drawn up, I was told of it by a friend, and that a meeting would be held at the playhouse to read the petitions and to sign them. I went, heard the petitions, and most cheerfully signed both. "

" Afterwards the subscribers chose a committee to keep the petitions, and to get them signed, and to forward the business ; the number chosen was twelve ; and it pleased the gentlemen assembled to make me one of the members.

" When the petition to the Court was ready we carried it up, and on the day fixed on, the committee went for their answer. Judge of our astonishment, when, to the refusal we expected, we found insult and contempt added, and heard, in illiberal language, a false charge brought against us. It was said, that before the petition to Parliament was shewn to subscribers, promises had been exacted to subscribe. ' It had been resolved that the petition to Parliament should be kept by the committee, and signed before them, that no copies of it might be taken. The corps I commanded was at Dum-Dum, eight miles from town ; and as my officers wished to see it but could not go to town, I carried it to them ; and one field morning after breakfast (for you are to understand all the officers were accustomed to breakfast at my tents after every field day), I read it to them. When I had so done, I told them, if they conceived it to be a matter which concerned them as British subjects, they, of course, would sign it ; if they did not, they were requested not to mention the contents.

" I was on my guard not to say anything that could act to determine them to sign, as in compliance with my wish or will, well knowing whom I had to deal with. My whole corps signed, and I carried it back to town at night. When, therefore, the Judges charged us with exacting promises to sign, as I knew it was an absolute falsehood with respect to myself, I replied, that I could answer for myself that I had not done it, and for the officers of

the corps I commanded, a long list of whose names was annexed to the petition, that they had not made any promise, that when I read the petition to them, I told them what I before mentioned.

"Thus you have had a full and true account of what I did ; but it seems the Chief Justice, whose pride is only to be equalled with his heat of temper, is so much offended with me that he is to write home to have me dismissed from the service. I dare suppose he will attempt it, and therefore furnish you with this narrative, which, as to the fact, I will swear to, though not to all the words spoken by others.

"I have told you that the alarm spread in an instant. There was afterwards another of a different kind, from which a presage may be formed of the future. The Mahomedans carry the representations of the tombs of two saints, named Hassan and Hosein, in procession in the month of Mohurram : this year that month fell in our January. On the two last days the processions march ; and on the last of all, about noon, they carry the supposed saints, and bury them. This, which is the most solemn act of the Shii Mahomedan religion, is attended with wailings, and cries of Ya Hosein ! Ya Hassan ! and accompanied with drums, trumpets, and other instruments ; and at this time it is almost sacrilege to come near them.

"A procession of this kind (it was the last and the most magnificent), stopped in front of the Court house. The noise disturbed the Judges, and they sent the Deputy Sheriff with his white wand to drive them away. As he was not able to accomplish it he imprudently struck one of them with his wand ; instantly the enraged multitude assailed the Court house. Bricks, and whatever came to hand they threw at it, but happily for us, they did not kill anybody ; a Military force was sent for, and the procession dispersed.

"This showed the protectors of the poor oppressed natives, that they held their protectors in the utmost detestation ; but showed the rest of the Europeans, that the respect the natives used to hold them in, was gone. And as we know that the Mahomedans believe that those who die fighting for their religion do instantly go to paradise, that they are bound by the commands of God to keep the Mohurram and the Shii, to celebrate the death of these saints ; so we know that enthusiasm will make them determine to maintain the right of British subjects (an idea given them by our Court), to celebrate their religion in the manner of their forefathers. And as they have been taught that those who are struck may strike again, and after all prosecute those who struck them first, so we may conclude that this will be the foundation of future disturbances, which, beginning with Ya Hosein ! may end in the thunder of cannon or the groans of murdered Europeans.

"To conclude, this first instance of spirit of resistance and contempt of Europeans, showed the inhabitants what they may expect hereafter, when the spirit of equality shall be more diffused. We do seriously and sincerely believe there will be much bloodshed, in consequence of the interruption to religious ceremonies, whenever that shall happen; and we know that the Portuguese lost India for only attempting to pull down an idol. And I know that a common *fakier* of reputed sanctity might very easily instigate the Mahommedans to rise to a war enthusiasm; is not yet quite dead—that is a serpent that will never die."

"I have related facts; I have not exaggerated. I have not spoken of any points but those which mark plain facts; but I do declare that this tumult could not have happened if this Court had never been instituted; and it is my opinion that either this Court must withdraw, or that these provinces must be lost; for the Europeans will either be massacred, or driven out in a very few years, if the Court continues here.

"Assist to save the settlement and

"Your friends and kinsman,
T. D. P."

In another letter to General Pattison, Colonel Pearse writes:—

"What has become of America, is not certain; but from all accounts we have, we conclude, it is severed from the British Empire, and we lament it seriously; many of us wished to have ended our days there, had it retained the same form of Government.

"The Supreme Court was established in 1774; and we are all now in a state here which is most disagreeable. The prospect of relief keeps us alive. A petition has been sent to Parliament signed by 550 inhabitants of this settlement, and more will yet sign, though there are not above 800 Europeans in the place exclusive of private soldiers, seamen, and lawyers."

Early in 1779, another large detachment of Artillery was ordered to march under Major Camac, with two Battalions, to join the Army under Lieutenant-Colonel Goddard; and Colonel Pearse mentions the train with that Army as the largest, and on the most important service, that ever marched in India. The detachment, however, did not march until June, as the following General Order vouches:—

GENERAL ORDER BY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

"The General Order, dated the 14th May, specifying that Major Camac, and the detachment under his command, is to proceed to Berhampore, and the presidency is revoked. Major Camac is ordered with the whole detachment to march to Dinapore, there to remain until further orders.

"The guns, stores, &c., belonging to the detachment are to remain in the magazine at Patna. On the arrival of the detachment at Dinapore, the 35th Battalion of sepoys

commanded by Captain Moses Crawford is ordered to march from thence and take post at Paggah for the protection of that district."

In March 1779, Lieutenant-General Sir E. Coote, K.B., arrived from England with the commission of Commander-in-Chief. From representations, grounded on error, blind infatuation, and party views, alarm had been taken by the Court of Directors and by the Government, that it was dangerous to teach the natives the use of Artillery. The corps of Golundauze, which had so faithfully served the Government, was ordered to be disbanded, the men having the option of enlisting as Sepoys or Lascars. To entertain as Sepoys, the Golundauze were very unwilling; and as Lascars, they considered themselves degraded; not only from the duties the latter had to perform, but also from being placed upon inferior pay. The consequence was, that many Golundauze deserted; others refused to entertain in any corps, and requested to go to their homes; and these men, in many subsequent actions with the enemy, were found filling their ranks and serving the enemy's artillery with undaunted bravery, steadiness, and effect.

Soon after General Sir Eyre Coote's arrival, it was rumoured about Calcutta that Sir Eyre Coote had brought authority to disband the Golundauze; and as this was a favorite corps of Colonel Pearse's and deservedly so, because he had not only formed it, but brought it into a fine state of discipline, it may be supposed that he readily took the alarm, and endeavoured to prevent it being reduced.

Colonel Pearse had unfortunately many enemies in high rank in Calcutta. Mr. Francis's and General Clavering's faction and Mr. Hastings' adherents kept up all those feelings of rancour which had been so long disturbing the peace of the settlement. One of the chief opposers of Colonel Pearse was Colonel Watson, commanding the Engineers; and as he had vowed the overthrow of the Golundauze, and had considerable influence, he urged Sir Eyre Coote to proceed in this unfortunate measure. Colonel Pearse, however, determined that this injustice to these faithful servants should not take place, if he could prevent it; he therefore exerted himself as became him in the situation which he held. Those readers who may recollect the Golundauze at Cawnpore, under the late Major Hay, may well conceive how deeply it must have wounded Colonel Pearse to see a similar corps sacrificed to jealousy and party views; and there is every reason to suppose that Colonel Pearse's Golundauze were equal to Major Hay's, which is saying everything, for there never was a corps better

* The disturbance was clearly preconcerted. Messengers were sent through the town to proclaim an alleged order from the Fauzdar of Chitpur to the effect that no palanquins should be allowed in the streets during Mohurram. Europeans, absolutely ignorant of this, of course, went out in their palanquins and were mobbed.—EDITOR, *B.: P. & P.*

disciplined. The true secret of the hue and cry against the Golundauze and the cause of their first downfall, it is now believed, is pretty fairly stated in the following letter from Colonel Pearse to General Sir Eyre Coote. The letter also affords a proof of the superior discernment of this distinguished officer, in the remarks about the effect of Artillery in Brigades instead of pairs of guns, the superior effect of the fire of which has been so decidedly proved of late in Europe ; and this distribution of Artillery has at length been established in India by our present illustrious Commander-in-Chief.

TO LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, K.B., COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.
"SIR,

"It seems impossible to furnish European Artillery enough for the services of this establishment, because we are liable to be attacked at the two extremities, and they are at such a distance as to render it impossible to afford speedy assistance. For this reason it appears the more necessary to establish Native Artillery. I am entirely of opinion that it would be better not to teach the Natives the art of Artillery, and so it would to have kept them ignorant of the whole art of war ; but the impossibility of doing either is evident, since the desertion of a few Artillery soldiers, if skilful in their profession, would have been sufficient to render all precaution useless ; and the fact is that Sujah-ul-Dowlah had Golundauze who could fire salutes with one gun, and they did it : how far they were masters of the other part of the art, I cannot say. That the natives are capable of learning the whole, I myself do not doubt ; I know they may be taught anything if the person who undertakes to instruct will only take pains to explain his own meaning thoroughly and with temper ; and I think it would therefore be much to the detriment of our service not to make use of the men we have.

"Although the name Golundauze is new, there have been native Artillery in the service these ten years : for every battalion since 1770 had two guns attached to it, for which they set apart 30 sepoy, who were taught the exercises. Therefore whatever mischief may be apprehended from having Native Artillery, we were then liable to, though we could not then derive all the advantages we now may. By collecting and giving them officers, the discipline becomes uniform ; and when guns are detached for service, officers can be afforded. It was to very little purpose that two guns were fixed to battalions ; they served to ornament the flank on field days ; but I believe very little real service was to be expected from them. They had not any Artillery officers, and yet guns in the field require the most skill to manage them ; but unless the officers are regularly trained to it, there are many points that will not be acquired. To point a gun is so easy, that any man may learn it in a minute ; but to manage the gun so as to produce the best effect, several things must be attended to ; the nature of the ground, the

distances, and the charges. To perform this, two Artillery soldiers were detached; very few of them understood these things: in fact, they are not taught it to the degree necessary for them to be left to themselves; this is the duty of the officers and non-commissioned officers, though some privates do know it also from practice and observation. By being their own masters, though they went out good men, they returned drunken vagabonds; and this I can affirm to be a fact, and so very few were the exceptions, that I may say it was general. With the two Europeans some Lascars were sent; they, though they were of the Artillery, were only employed to drag the gun; they were unarmed and undisciplined; but they served for many menial offices which made them desirable to the Captains of the battalions. Every battalion which had these guns, though nominally seven hundred Infantry, was only six hundred and seventy Infantry and thirty Artillery; for so many men they generally set apart for the guns. Now every Battalion acts with its whole force, and every gun detached may be of service. The men will be under their own officers; their discipline will not much suffer; and if it does, by returning to the corps it will be restored, which I think could not be the case before. But I must beg leave to give an opinion against Battalion guns; cannon in small brigades, brought to the points necessary, will do infinitely more service than when scattered along the whole line. This was found by experience the best mode last war, and in the latter campaigns was generally practised. Each of these had an officer whose ~~superior rank~~ gave him superior advantages; the cannon were better looked after, and in action produced most effect; and I imagine this must ever hold good in all services.

"With respect to the native Artillery it is to be observed, that, if by any means they lose their cannon, being armed and disciplined, they may instantly become Infantry; whereas by being unarmed as the Artillery Lascars were, they became a mob as soon as they lost their cannon. Those I have trained, perform all the duties the Lascars were wont to perform, I mean the Artillery Lascars: they make the stores and manage the park; it is true their duties are the more laborious, and it might therefore be worthy of consideration, whether they ought not to have a small addition to their pay; were they only allowed half a rupee a month more, there would not be any fear of desertion; we should be sure of being always complete and always ready for action.

"These observations I thought it my duty to make to shew that, since we cannot have Europeans enough for all purposes, the natives may be used to advantage. In regard to a possibility of desertion, and teaching the Country Powers I have said we were before as liable to it, or more so, than we shall be if some small addition to the pay be made; but granting they desert as the sepoy do, we have not much to apprehend. Though the Country Powers

have Infantry formed like ours, they are inferior in every respect; their irregularity of pay is the grand foundation of it; their want of sufficient instruction, and of the essential knowledge of our discipline will long keep them so; and such as their sepoys are to ours, their Artillery will be to our Artillery, though the men should desert in the same proportion, which I do not think would happen. For these reasons, I hope the native Artillery will be found worthy of keeping up; and the mode of detaching guns, wherever they are wanted, preferred to attaching them to battalions; and I further hope that the specimen of what may be done in a little time, will be considered as an argument for continuing what has been begun, and so happily meet with your approbation."

On the receipt of the order to disband the Golundauze, Colonel Pearse again attempted, without success, to prevent this ill-judged measure from taking effect, by a respectful representation to the Government, a copy of which he forwarded with the following letter to General Sir Eyre Coote:—

TO LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

"Fort William, 24th November, 1779.

"SIR,

"I should have not presumed to renew my address to you on the subject of the Golundauze corps did not necessity oblige me to it. Rumours of a particular nature which, if they have any foundation, are better known to you than to me, make it fit that I should trouble you.

"Your orders arrived when I was at Ghyrettee. Yesterday they were published, and I was about to carry them into immediate execution, as I am in all duty bound to do, and shall ever consider it as my greatest honor to act conformably to your pleasure, by the most punctual obedience. But when I considered the reports of wars and attacks, which perhaps have no foundation, but as I cannot know that for certain, it behoved me to act as if they were real. I, therefore, as you were at so great a distance that an answer could not reach me in less than a month, took a step which will I hope meet with your approbation, the only one by which I could save myself from blame, should the reports have any ground.

"I therefore addressed to the Board a letter of which I have the honor to enclose a copy, and at the same time send it to you.

"As my only intention was to be authorised to postpone the execution till I could consult you, I submit what I said to the Board to your consideration, and humbly hope to obtain the honor of an answer, which will extricate me from my present difficulties.

"As your order does not mention any native officers I beg to know how they are to be disposed of. They are men who have served many years,

therefore I presume it is your intention to divide them also amongst the sepoys ; but the total silence concerning them leaves me in doubt whether they are to be so disposed of or reduced.

"When the order is carried into execution, may I presume to submit to you the propriety of doing it by draughts at once ; they will in that case I believe not hesitate which to choose ; at present I know there is a difficulty : they all know that a Golundauze is, in the Country's service, the most honourable distinction. They know the Artillery have in our own higher pay, and they consider this as putting the Artillery on the same footing in our service.

"The means which I take the liberty to point out, will most effectually get rid of the present corps, without a probability of diffusing that knowledge which we wish to confine, as much as the nature of things permits, to ourselves ; but disbanding them will, I presume, promote it : for as they are now all well disciplined, when they shall find themselves destitute, they will naturally make use of all their knowledge for their own necessities, and seek for bread where they can get it, on terms more to their advantage than by the choice that is given to them by your orders.

"In the meantime, that I may shew my readiness to obey your orders, I have desired the officers to advise them to go to the sepoy corps : and on Monday next, which is review day, I shall do the same thing publicly. I have desired Captain Clerk to attend ; and from that day he will use his endeavours to get as many as he can. If any difficulty arises, it must proceed from the cause I have mentioned ; and in a country where every man sticks so firmly to caste, which is only name, it is a very powerful one. It was by that and that only they were brought forward to what they are ; for in all respects they perform the duties of Lascars, but I do know that they will not become Lascars, that the ignominy of the name amongst themselves, and the consequent shame of descending from the highest to the lowest rank and the difference of pay prevents it. It was finding that I could not get any but the men unfit for sepoys, that I recommended the changing the names, giving them arms, and increasing the pay. It will not then be a matter for wonder that they will not again become Lascars.

"I do not mention this as any objection to the intended change, far from it : it is your pleasure that it be made, and I shall endeavour to the utmost to get the best I can to use them to the most advantage, but I thought it necessary to explain why the late change was made. Many of the Golundauze will, I suppose, become sepoys ; for they will see they have less to do, and the same pay ; as the name is honourable also, they will have every reason to change, and in fact will be better off. Incorporating them at once will, therefore, be effectual in every respect, and for that reason I presumed to

recommend it. The orders I may receive from the Board will determine me how to act for the instant, and your further orders will be my guide in future.

I am, &c., &c.,

T. D. P.,

Lieut.-Colonel Commander of Artillery."

TO THE HONOURABLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ., GOVERNOR-GENERAL
AND THE SUPREME COUNCIL.

"Fort William, 28th November, 1779.

"HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,

"As the Commander-in-Chief is at a great distance and it is impossible for me to be honoured with his commands in less than a month, I take the liberty of addressing you on the present occasion.

"The Commander-in-Chief has been pleased to send the order of which the enclosed is a copy, which was yesterday issued and must be carried into execution immediately, unless you should be pleased to authorise the suspending it, until the Commander-in-Chief can be consulted on the occasion.

"The Artillery now consist of 370 in all, of whom only 150 are at the Presidency. Two ships have arrived and not brought a single recruit ; consequently the possibility of completing the Artillery is not to be expected, and cannot happen till next year. If we consider that his Majesty's armies are now recruited by pressing, it is not to be even hoped that we shall gain many next season. Were any sudden attacks to be made on us, I can assure you the Europeans we have are very much too few for the duties of the defence of this place : yet, would it be necessary to send out detachments, and, consequently, to reduce the present number !

"That most of the Golundauze are now good Artillery soldiers, I affirm from my own certain knowledge ; and as the name is in Hindoostan the highest amongst the soldiers, none of them I believe would enter as Lascars, even if the pay were equal ; but the difference is so considerably against the Lascars, that that alone would be sufficient to determine the Golundauze to quit us. Therefore, though the last new regulations have allowed us Lascars, the men we have enlisted will go away, and those we are to entertain will be raw and ignorant and must be instructed ; consequently, for a time, we shall be almost destitute of Artillery.

"I submit it therefore to your consideration, whether it may not be proper to keep whatever we have, till you can consult the Commander-in-Chief on the subject. My duty to myself makes this address necessary, lest if any ill consequence should follow the immediate execution of this order,

it should be supposed I had neglected my duty to the service by being silent on the occasion.

"I therefore beg to be honored with your commands.

"I am, &c., &c.,

"T. D. P.,

Lieut.-Col. Commandant of Artillery."

Colonel Pearse's endeavours, however, were looked upon by Sir Eyre Coote as arising from a spirit of insubordination, which never had a place in Colonel Pearse's breast; and the following letter from Sir Eyre Coote at once silenced all remonstrances:—

TO LIEUT.-COL. PEARSE, COMMANDANT OF ARTILLERY.

Chunar, December 5th, 1779.

"SIR,

I am not more surprised than hurt to find you endeavouring to sap to its foundation that subordination and obedience which every officer ought to feel as so essentially necessary to his profession. I can say no less of your letter to me of the 24th ultimo, enclosing a copy of one addressed by you to the Board.

"The orders issued by me, relative to the reduction of the Golundauze corps, were clear and explicit, and required from you an exact and immediate compliance, instead of delay and remonstrance; and they were authorised by that very Board which you have applied to, to lay them aside.

"Your urging any plea as an excuse for hesitating to obey them, is both unmilitary and unprecedented. You are not called upon for your opinion, nor are you answerable for any consequence; obedience was the only thing required, and I now demand it from you in the strictest sense of the word.

"I am, &c., &c.,

"(Sd.) EYRE COOTE."

The circumstances of Colonel Pearse sending an address to the Board, on the subject of an order sent by the Commander-in-Chief, requires some explanation here in justice to Colonel Pearse's character.

During the command of General Stibbert, several important military transactions occurred; and General Stibbert being occasionally in the field and at some distance from the Presidency, Colonel Pearse found it necessary to obtain permission from him, as Commander-in-Chief, to address the Board or Government direct, on urgent occasions, which required immediate attention. Acting in the spirit of this permission, and considering the measure of disbanding the Golundauze as fraught with danger, Colonel Pearse

conceived he was acting in the line of his duty by making a most respectful representation of the circumstances to the Governor.

The following explanatory letter from Colonel Pearse was written in reply to the Commander-in-Chief:—

TO LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

"SIR,

"I was yesterday honored with your letter dated Chunar, 5th December, by which I but too plainly perceive that I have offended you, and that my offence is deemed of so heinous a nature as to be unmilitary and unprecedented; and that you entertain an opinion of me, that I endeavour to sap to its foundation that subordination and obedience which every officer ought to feel as so essentially necessary to his profession.

"This letter has filled me with most uneasy apprehensions: for conscious as I am that in what I did I meant to act for the best, and not having had the faintest idea of the possibility of my offending the Commander-in-Chief, whose approbation I above all things wished to obtain, which I can safely say the high sense I have of his authority ever made me most desirous to shew, I cannot but be deeply affected at finding that I have fallen under his displeasure.

"With respect to the step which I thought it necessary to take, give me leave to assure you, that I should have judged it highly improper in any case but that of necessity; and that I had at least the appearance of necessity I hope you will be pleased to admit, after you shall have read the following statement.

"Reports prevailed in the settlement that a body of Mahrattas were about to invade the Provinces, and were then on the borders of Burdwan; these were so confidently spoken of that I actually and most firmly believed them. Whether it was true or false, was a question I could not presume to ask from those who alone possessed the information. I knew however, that the services of the corps I command, would be much wanted, and indispensably necessary; and that the whole of the Europeans, sick and well, was 150, which, as I represented, would be insufficient without assistance; the assistance which we had at hand, the executing of your orders would have deprived us of. And I apprehended that time would be wanted to raise the Lascars, and that, if the Mahrattas should really be coming forward, it would be very difficult to raise them at all: the case became so very intricate that I knew not how to act. I thought it not improbable but that you might be unacquainted with it; for the news might have come by a different route; that you could not have known of the arrival of the two ships without bringing us a man, when your orders were dated, was, I thought, certain; so that I concluded it would have met with your

approbation that I should take measures to delay the execution of your orders till those circumstances could be made known to you. But, Sir, an officer in this service has not been trusted with that kind of discretionary power which in some cases becomes necessary ; and therefore I did not dare delay the execution of your orders by my own authority. I could not receive my orders from yourself ; for I only wanted time to obtain them. The fact of the ships I knew ; but, as I before said, I could not presume to ask concerning the reports ; therefore it appears to me that it was my duty to you and to the service, to state facts concerning the state of my corps to the Council, who, being informed of them, could at once determine whether the orders might with safety be instantly carried into execution, or whether it would be more proper to defer it until you could be consulted. This, Sir, was the reasoning which passed in my mind on the subject, and in consequence I wrote that letter which now unhappily has drawn down your displeasure upon me. I was apprehensive of it at the time, and to prevent it, if possible, I sent a copy to yourself with a letter on the subject ; and I flattered myself that by so doing I should remove all cause of complaint against me on the article of want of respect or obedience : nay, I ever hoped for your approbation of my conduct, and am persuaded that if the reports had turned out true, you would have commended me. Happily for the Company, they proved erroneous : but alas ! I find myself in a very bad predicament, and have offended that Officer whose favourable opinion I most coveted, and emulously strove to obtain. With respect to my letter on the subject to yourself I hope no unguarded expression has crept in to give offence. If any such there be, permit me to assure you that I did not intend to write a word in my letter, which should carry a meaning contrary to that profound respect which is due to yourself and the high office you hold in this Army ; and I pray you, that, if a harsh or improper expression is to be met with, you will favor me so far as to explain its meaning by this assurance.

" Since, Sir, I have most unhappily fallen under your displeasure by the step I took, let me beg you will be pleased to consider it as founded on error in judgment and not in want of obedience ; permit me to assure you that in the course of 22 years' service I have ever studied not only thoroughly in what subordination and obedience consist, but how best to practise them. A case of a most intricate nature having occurred, I, to my shame and confusion, find I have acted in a manner which my present Commander-in-Chief deems unmilitary in the highest degree. To him I now address myself to intreat him to overlook the error in my conduct, and to entertain a more favourable opinion of me than that which is expressed in the letter I was honored with.

" I am, &c., &c."

In the meantime the final resolutions of Government appeared in the following Minute of Council which was issued :—

EXTRACTS OF MINUTES OF COUNCIL :

23rd November, 1779.

"Ordered that the Native officers of the Golundauze Corps at the presidency be paid up to the end of this month, and immediately discharged from the service ; that the Commander of the Artillery be directed to repeat the offers already given to the men, and those who still decline to accept of them be immediately disbanded."

TO GENERAL DESAGULIERS.

6th May, 1779.

"DEAR GENERAL,

"You must have heard a good deal at home about our squabbles in the East. For these last four years we have been torn by parties, more violently than any part of His Majesty's subjects. The clashing of our interests, the difference of our views, and the raucour of our chiefs had set us so much against each other that I thought it impossible we could ever be brought to unanimity ; however, our Court has effected it. We are not above a thousand in Bengal ; yet you will see near 600 names signed to a petition to Parliament for redress of grievances. The distance of our various settlements in Bengal has prevented many names being added ; the Supreme Council, and the dependants on the Court, and some few, who find their interest in it, are the only persons who have not signed, or will not do it.

"The people here who had been for ages ruled by despotism, were all at once told that they were free, and that they could bring an action in a Court of Law against any European from whom they thought they had received even a supposed grievance. An individual who was brought before the Bench on the complaint of a native, demanded a jury. The bench refused to plead his case ; he was forced to plead for himself. The Judges declared that we had no right to juries here ; the whole settlement took the alarm, and in an instant re-united and drew up a petition to the Judges, presenting it with every mark of respect that could be desired.

"The petition was also drawn up for Parliament, setting forth in a plain manner the grievances ; the principal of which was, that trial by jury was not allowed, and that individuals were daily subjected to suits brought against them for actions committed many years before, which were not contrary to the native, but to the British *ex post facto* laws. Natives are made equally subject to the Bench ; and from what I can learn from discoursing with individuals amongst them, they look upon the circumstances with dread, and only submit to them for fear of our power."

PART II.

We have proceeded with the memoir of this distinguished officer so far as the year 1779. Our readers will, however, we trust, excuse our retrograding for a few pages to 1778.

It is pretty generally known that the late Sir John Horsford, K.C.B., Commandant of the Bengal Artillery, though of a good family and superior education, evaded entering into the profession in which his family were desirous of engaging him (which we believe was the Church) by enlisting in the Honorable Company's Service. He came to Bengal as a private in the Artillery, having assumed the name of Rover; and in 1778 he was a sergeant in Captain Thelwall's, or the 1st Company of Artillery. In consequence, however, of the inquiries of his deserted family, Horsford was identified and promoted to a Cadetship in the corps. The following public letter appears amongst Colonel Pearse's papers:—

TO CAPTAIN THELWALL.

Fort William, 9th March, 1778.

SIR,

I am directed by Lieutenant-Colonel Pearse to acquaint you, that Sergeant Rover of your Company, is in this day's orders appointed a Cadet of Artillery under the name of John Horsford; he desires that he may proceed to the Presidency immediately in order to join his corps.

I am Sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

C. R. DEARE,

Adjt., Corps of Artillery.

The following letters are interestingly indicative of the acute and observing mind of Colonel Pearse:—

TO ADMIRAL MANN.

Fort William, 3rd April, 1778.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have seen it 107 in the shade in Calcutta, where we never have hot winds, and I have been told it is 132° in the tents, and even more sometimes where the hot winds are violent; but as the wind is always scorching, it of course is dry and doth not oppress. I have been ready to die in 83° in a moist air, and never am in better health or spirits than in the hottest dry weather in which season my returns shew me my men are always most healthy. I now have not one in 20 sick; from August to latter end of December they sicken, from that time till the rains begin, they grow more and more healthy; but if they drink hard, they die in a few hours of violent putrid fevers. I inclose a duplicate of my last letter, because it is of important business; I hope you will receive your wine safe by the *Portland*. May you enjoy happiness! and now adieu for this season.

I am, My dear Friend,

Your affectionate kinsman,

T. D. PEARSE.

[*A letter of a technical nature is omitted here.*]

TO GENERAL PATTISON.

" We lately made an attempt to establish Ragoba, the ejected peshwa of Poona, in the Government of the Mahratta dominions, and to this end in March 1778, a body of forces, under Col. Leslie, marched from Calpee towards Poonah, the distance of about 1,800 miles. Leslie lost several months in settling some disputes with which he had no business to interfere, in Bundelcund, a country in his route, and there he died : Lt.-Col. Goddard succeeded to the command of the detachment. All the difficulties vanished, the detachment marched with great dispatch, crossed the Nerbuddah, and were within a few days' march of Poonah. The Bombay forces were also to attack on their side, to second Goddard, and they were so to manage matters as to arrive with him : but Goddard had the only power as ambassador. The Bombay Council then sent their detachment, a Captain* in three days took possession of the passes, their army marched the same distance in six weeks : but the Captain moved unfettered, and the army had a set of people called Field Deputies.† As news reached them that Goddard was approaching, the Bombay people held it to be for their credit to arrive first, and they determined to quit the passes and descend into the plains. They had no sooner done this than they were attacked; still they pushed on, and in three days advanced about 12 miles, their army in the highest spirits. The Field Deputies, however, chose to retreat; the army got under arms, expecting to storm the Mahratta camp and make their fortune. All were in transports, when in an instant ~~their~~ ambitious views were defeated by an order to retreat. Away they went. The Mahrattas finding the good people were walking the wrong way and rightly imagining that making a noise in the rear would make them hasten, therefore attacked it. He who commanded the rear repulsed them, and made good his retreat to the main body.‡ The front had marched so fast as to leave him 2 miles behind, with a gully between; they stopped, sent back a reinforcement, and all was well. Thus ended the first fight. The next day they began to treat; as they agreed to terms, the Mahrattas rose in demands, so they fought again and again, and then they made their treaty, and it was to give up Ragoba, which was complied with; to eat their dinner, which the Mahrattas agreed to send them; to deliver up Salsette, Broach, and anything else the Mahrattas pleased: and to send orders to Goddard to march back again, and at any rate to forbid his taking Poonah and doing his business without their assistance, which the Mahrattas were very seriously afraid he would do. The Deputies politely told the Mahrattas that they had

* This was Captain Hartley, afterwards a Major-General.

† These Field Deputies were Mr. Carnac and Mr. Mostyn, of the Bombay Civil Service, and a Colonel Egerton acting in a civil capacity.

no power over General Goddard, but that he would do as he pleased, he was ordered by their superiors, but they would interest themselves with him and so they wrote him a letter and the Mahrattas another. When Goddard found that one army was demolished, and had bargained that the man he was going to establish was delivered up, and that it would be to no purpose to go to Poonah, and that he might save Bombay by marching to Surat, he determined to do so; and he has effected it. This affair, though really a very serious one, has been so horridly mangled by the management of the Bombay Deputies (whom the Mahrattas call the English coolies), that though I really wanted to give you an account of it in a more serious style, I really could not manage it. Goddard has done wonders; he has made his way good quite across India; has been twice attacked by the whole force of the Mahrattas, and made them repent it; and has at last reached Surat. The Bombay detachment, much larger than Goddard's, within three days of Poonah, were defeated by the Chiefs at the very instant they thought they were going to drive all before them; and what happened plainly shewed they might have done it: for if part of their force could in a retreat repulse the Mahrattas, their whole force attacking would have destroyed them, and one victory would have made us masters of all the western side of India; and if Goddard had been there without Field Deputies, he would have done it. Sir Eyre Coote has arrived, and has reviewed my corps, and has expressed his delight and satisfaction."

On the 25th September 1779, the awful intelligence reached Bengal of the total annihilation of a large detachment of the Madras Army, under Colonel Baillie, by Hyder Ali: Sir Hector Munro at the head of the Madras Army having failed, through imperfect intelligence, to support the detachment. To render this news more appalling, it was reported that Hyder had followed the retreating army of Sir Hector Munro to the very suburbs of Madras and the Madras Council, in applying for assistance in money and troops from Bengal, declared their total want, of the former, and that the weakness of their force rendered them unable even to check the progress of the barbarous Invader: the Madras army amounting to about 6,500, in which number were included the whole European force of 1,200 men.

According to Mr. Mill (in his admirable history of India) the formidable army of Hyder was not less than 100,000 strong, of which 20,000 Infantry were formed into regular battalions under European officers, and 30,000 Cavalry which had been disciplined by French officers; that he had 100 pieces of cannon, partly manœuvred by Europeans and natives who had been trained by the English for the Nabob of the Carnatic; that Mons. Lally, who had left the service of the Subahdar of the Deccan for that of Hyder, was present with his corps of Europeans to the amount of 400 men, and that

he had the principal share in planning the operations of the war. Here was a striking lesson to every State of the necessity of strict discipline in an army and the regular payment of the troops composing it.

Hyder's main object was the total extirpation of the English from the Carnatic, and indeed from India, and had he pushed on with his overwhelming force and taken Madras, which in all probability must have fallen, the British interests in the Carnatic would have yielded to the French; the Mahrattas never would have concluded peace with the English, and that portion, if not the whole of India, would have been lost to Britain. To gratify his troops, however (and probably to pay them), Hyder was obliged to let them ravage and plunder the country round Madras, and they devoted so much time to this barbarous mode of carrying on war, that reinforcements from Bengal arrived and warded off the expected catastrophe.

Never was there a more alarming crisis in the affairs of British India. Fortunately Mr. Hastings, being supported by Mr. Barwell in Council, had recovered the reins of Government, and the vigorous measures which the Supreme Government pursued, notwithstanding the obstinate opposition of Mr. Francis, saved India. That Mr. Hastings is entitled to the significant and honorable appellation of the Saviour of India, is now generally allowed; and in speaking of Mr. Hastings, the name and services of his constant supporter and coadjutor in Council, Mr. Barwell, must not be forgotten.

Fifteen lacs of rupees and a formidable body of Infantry and Artillery were instantly got in readiness to proceed to Madras. Sir Eyre Coote was directed to proceed by sea with a detachment of Europeans and Colonel Pearse (whose character was justly valued) was selected to command the army which was to proceed by land. The Supreme Government, confiding in the high character of Sir Eyre Coote, appointed him to carry a decree suspending the Madras Governor. Mr. Hastings, in adopting these measures, looked forward with confidence to the complete restoration of the British honors and interests in that quarter of India and his expectations were not disappointed.

TO GENERAL PATTISON.

" 25th March, 1780.

" Before this can reach you, you will have heard of the disaster that has happened to our troops at Madras, under Sir Hector Munro. Munro had a certain victory in his hands, if he only would have moved to seize it; but standing still it was too late, half his army was destroyed and the rest he marched off with in such hurry and confusion, that it might be called running away; and he left his cannon, his tents, his magazines, and all the followers of his army. As soon as it was known, our Government took the most

vigorous measures ; within a month from the receipt of the news, Sir Eyre Coote sailed from hence with 500 Europeans, *vis.*, 300 Infantry and 200 Artillery. I offered my services to go, either to command the detachment, or the Artillery only, or my own company of volunteers. At first Sir Eyre Coote refused to let me go ; but two days after he told me I should follow with the command of 6 light Battalions of sepoy and a proportionable train. The detachment is accordingly forming and consists of 6 Battalions of sepoy, one Company of Artillery, and 16 pieces of ordnance.

"The Mahrattas are divided ; peace is about to be made with them, so that, as the Nizam refuses to join against us, and Mezuph Khawn is quiet and inclined to peace, Hyder Ali's fall may be looked upon as certain, unless the French should send a force to join him, and we should be neglected ; in which case they may form an establishment to lay the foundation of future trouble ; but if they do not join, or we are supported, all India must be ours in 20 years more : for when Hyder is destroyed, there will not be a force that can cope with us, though all the rest should join together.

"I must just add that in August last, Mr. Hastings and Francis fought a duel ; I was second to Mr. Hastings and Colonel Watson to Francis. I consulted your letter on Townsend's for etiquette, and proceeded accordingly, but Watson proposed 14 paces, and it was lucky for his principal for Mr. Hastings hit him, and had he been two paces nearer he would never have told who hurt him. •

"Francis is to go away in these ships, and then we may go on with the conquest of India, which Hastings will assuredly accomplish, if left to act.

"Mayaffre, who is now the fourth Captain in the Corps, is just returned from Gwalior, a very strong fortress in the Rajaship of Gohud ; it was in the possession of the Mahrattas, and was taken by surprise by Popham under whom Mayaffre served."

Col. Pearse gives the following account of the duel fought between Mr. Hastings and Mr. Francis in a letter :—

TO LAWRENCE SULLIVAN, ESQR.

"Fort William, 4th October, 1780.

"SIR,—On the present occasion I shall less apologize for troubling you than I should on any other, because it seems to me necessary that you should be informed of the particulars of a transaction that has passed here, and which will make some noise at home. I mean a duel between Mr. Hastings and Mr. Francis, on which occasion I was one of the seconds, and therefore am fully acquainted with the particulars which I shall relate as concisely as the nature of the subject will allow me.

"Late in the evening of the 15th August, I received a note from Mr. Hastings, desiring me to be with him next morning at breakfast ; in

consequence of which I waited upon him. He introduced the subject of business by desiring me to give him my word of honor not to mention it till he should give me permission. Of course I gave it, and he then informed me that in consequence of a minute he had given in, Mr. Francis had challenged him on the preceding day ; that they had then agreed to meet on Thursday morning about half-past five near Belvedere, and he asked me to be his second.

" The next morning, Thursday the 17th August, I waited on Mr. Hastings in my chariot to carry him to the place of appointment. When we arrived there we found Mr. Francis and Col. Watson walking together, and therefore soon after we alighted, I looked at my watch and mentioned aloud that it was half-past five, and Mr. Francis looked at his and said it was near six ; this induced me to tell him that my watch was set by my astronomical clock to solar time.

" The place they were at was very improper for the business ; it was the road leading to Alipore, at the crossing of it through a double row of trees that formerly had been a walk of Belvedere garden, on the western side of the house. Whilst Col. Watson went by desire of Mr. Francis to fetch his pistols, that Gentleman proposed to go aside from the road into the walk ; but Mr. Hastings disapproved of the place because it was full of weeds and dark : the road itself was next mentioned, but was thought by everybody too public, as it was near riding time and people might want to pass that way ; it was therefore agreed to walk towards Mr. Barwell's house on an old road that separated his ground from Belvedere, and before we had gone far, a retired dry spot was chosen as a proper place.

" As soon as this was settled I proceeded to load Mr. Hastings' pistols ; those of Mr. Francis were already loaded ; when I had delivered one to Mr. Hastings, and Col. Watson had done the same to Mr. Francis, finding the gentlemen were both acquainted with the modes usually observed on those occasions, I took the liberty to tell them that if they would fix their distance it was the business of the seconds to measure it. Lieut.-Col. Watson immediately mentioned that Fox and Adam had taken fourteen paces, and he recommended that distance. Mr. Hastings observed it was a great distance for pistols ; but as no actual objection was made to it Watson measured and I counted. When the Gentlemen had got to their ground, Mr. Hastings, asked Mr. Francis if he stood before the line or behind it, and being told behind the mark, he said he would do the same, and immediately took his stand. I then told them it was a rule that neither of them were to quit their ground until they had discharged their pistols, and Col. Watson proposed that both should fire together without taking any advantage. Mr. Hastings asked, if he meant they ought to fire by word of

command, and was told he only meant they should fire together as nearly as could be. These preliminaries were all agreed to, and both parties presented; but Mr. Francis raised his hand and again came down to his present; he did so a second time; when he came to his present, which the third time of doing so, he drew his tigger; but his powder being damp, the pistol did not fire. Mr. Hastings came down from his present to give Mr. Francis time to rectify his priming, and this was done out of a cartridge with which I supplied him upon finding they had no spare powder.

"Again the Gentlemen took their stands, both presented together, and Mr. Francis fired; Mr. Hastings did the same at the distance of time equal to the counting of one, two, three distinctly, but not greater. His shot took place; Mr. Francis staggered; and in attempting to sit down he fell, and said he was a dead man. Mr. Hastings hearing this cried out, 'Good God! I hope not,' and immediately went up to him, as did Col. Watson; but I ran to call the servants, and to order a sheet to be brought to bind up the wound; I was absent about 2 minutes; on my return I found Mr. Hastings standing by Mr. Francis, but Col. Watson was gone to fetch a cot or palanquin from Belvedere to carry him to town.

"When the sheet was brought, Mr. Hastings and myself bound it round his body; and we had the satisfaction to find it was not in a vital part, and Mr. Francis agreed with me in opinion as soon as it was mentioned. I offered to attend him to town in my carriage and Mr. Hastings urged him to go as my carriage was remarkably easy. Mr. Francis agreed to go, and, therefore, when the cot came we proceeded towards the chariot, but were stopped by a deep broad ditch over which we could not carry the cot; for this reason Mr. Francis was conveyed to Belvedere, attended by Col. Watson, and we went to town to send assistance to meet him; but he had been prevailed on to accept a room at Belvedere and there the surgeons, Dr. Campbell the principal, and Dr. Francis the Governor's own surgeon, found him. When Dr. Francis returned he informed the Governor that the wound was not mortal, that the ball had struck just behind the bend of the right ribs and passed between the flesh and bone to the opposite side, from whence it had been extracted."

"Whilst Mr. Francis was lying on the ground, he told Mr. Hastings, in consequence of something which he said, that he best knew how it affected his affairs, and that he had better take care of himself; to which Mr. Hastings answered, that he hoped and believed the wound was not mortal, but that if any unfortunate accident should happen, it was his intention immediately to surrender himself to the Sheriff.

"Concerning the subject of the quarrel not a word passed. Had the seconds been ignorant of the cause of the duel before they went into the

field, they must have remained so. No other conversation passed between the principals or the seconds besides what I have related, unless the usual compliments of good morrow at meeting, or Mr. Francis' admiring the beauty of Mr. Hastings' pistols when I took them out, deserve to be noticed. When the pistols were delivered by the seconds, Mr. Francis said he was quite unacquainted with these matters and had never fired a pistol in his life, and Mr. Hastings told him he had no advantage in that respect as he could not recollect that he had ever fired a pistol above once or twice; that it was that induced me to say what I have before mentioned the rules to be observed.

"Though what I have written may appear rather prolix, yet I had rather bear the imputation of dwelling too long upon the less important parts of the narrative than leave the world room to put in a word that did not pass. If, therefore, any reports different from what I have related should circulate and you should think them worth contradiction, I hope you will not scruple to use this letter for that purpose.

"Both parties behaved as became Gentlemen of their high rank and station. Mr. Hastings seemed to be in a state of such perfect tranquillity that a spectator would not have supposed that he was about an action out of the common course of things; and Mr. Francis' deportment was such as did honor to his firmness and resolution.

"As I could not take the liberty of writing so fully on this subject, without acquainting Mr. Hastings of my intention so to do, he knows of my letter; but the letter itself he has not seen, nor any copy of it.

"Wishing you every health and prosperity.

"I remain,
" &c. &c. &c."

(*To be continued.*)



A Forgotten Calcutta Actress :

MADAME MARIA DHERMAINVILLE.

“—Heedless where thou’rt straying, sad and pale,
Like grief-struck maiden who has heard revealed
To all the world that which she wished concealed,
Her trusting love’s—and hapless frailty’s—tale.”

—DEROZIO. *Sonnet to the Moon.*



MADAME Dhermainville (or Mrs. Maria Madeline Taylor to call her by her real name) was a lady who caused no little stir in her own brief day, but who for many a long day since has been utterly forgotten. Her life-story would form a tear-stained volume; but although a child of misfortune she was one of Beauty's daughters; and, coming as she did from a theatrical family, was by face, figure, stature, and voice well fitted for the profession she adopted. Although not educated up to the height of lofty tragedy, Maria Taylor became the leading actress at Sydney and the idol of Australian playgoers when she was barely twenty, and continued to be so for six years in the 'thirties of the last century. Taylor, her husband, was described as a worthless fellow who never worked and indeed did little else than induce his young wife to take to stimulants, the constant use of which began to affect her voice. Before long the couple parted and she threw in her lot with a Captain Pierre Largetot (or Largeteau). He commanded a whaler which without the knowledge of her owners he sold, using the proceeds to defray the fare of himself and the lady to Calcutta. Having assumed the name and style of "Baron" Henri Dhermainville he engaged a house (or flat) in Park Street. Just about this time the Sans Souci Theatre* had been opened (8th March 1841), and here Madame Dhermainville, relying on her Australasian celebrity, hoped to secure a permanent engagement. She was, however, unsuccessful, owing it was said, by her friends, to professional jealousy on the part of Mrs. Esther Leach, and, by her enemies, to her having appeared at a rehearsal not quite sober. She next announced a performance of "The Taming of the Shrew," with herself as Katherine, to take place at the Town Hall on 25th March 1841. This had, however, to be postponed owing to Dhermainville's death from cholera the night previous. In advertising the

* For an account of this old theatre in Park Street the reader is referred to the article entitled "The Sans Souci and its Star" which appeared in *Bengal : Past and Present* of July 1907.

performance for the 15th April instead, she pleaded that in appearing so soon after her affliction she had been compelled to sacrifice private feelings to the stern necessity of maintaining herself by her profession.

The following well-written and touching address, spoken by Madame Dhermainville, was said to have been composed by Mr. G. Nash, one of the amateur performers who supported her on this occasion :—

THE PROLOGUE.

" Friends,—for so must I welcome you and claim
The deeds that justify the sacred name—
Behold a stranger, and recall the time
When each one felt so in this distant clime,
And every heart will justify my plea,
A voice in every bosom plead for me !
Ye, who have known but fortune's tenderness,
Should feel for those who suffer ne'ertheless,
And one Adversity has stricken low
Is she, who humbly pleadeth to you now.
Oh ! had I power to utter all I feel,
Then should ye know the force of this appeal,
And own, as sympathy relaxed each brow,
' The WOMAN, NOT the ACTRESS, speaketh now.'
Alas ! too soon must I resume the mask—
Necessity commands me to the task—
And bid my features mimic feelings show,
Whilst dark and heavy lies my heart below :
Pause to remember this, ere ye upbraid,
And let my faults, to-night, be lightly weighed.

Lords of the mind, whose sceptre is the Pen,
To you I turn, and trembling meet your ken—
Forbearance, critics ! 'tis more great to aid
Exertions weak as mine, than to upbraid ;
And grant the little band, whom kindness drew
To back my efforts, your protection too.
But wherefore fear I?—I no more will plead—
Sustained by your forbearance I succeed ;
Yes, the conviction springs, like lightning, through
My quickened heart, and I can smile anew !
Oh ! could you know the change now passing here !
The Seraph, Hope, o'ercomes the Demon, Fear .

The pulse of Gladness beats for Sorrow's throe,
 And Joy regains the throne usurped by Woe ;
 And I can smile ; my heart rejoicing bounds,
 Escapes its fetters, and forgets its wounds !
 Yes, gratitude shall make my weakness might,
 And wake each nerve to energy to-night."

Madame Dhermainville made her next appearance in a musical farce called "Mischief-Making" which was performed at the Sans Souci on 29th April. On that very night occurred a tragedy which greatly shocked Calcutta residents. Captain George Hamilton Cox of the East India Company's Invalid Establishment and Actuary of the Calcutta Fire Insurance Company, on returning from the Theatre to his rooms in the Bengal Club (then in Tank Square, E.), committed suicide by blowing his brains out with a revolver. He was very popular both at Calcutta and Simla (where he was one of the early European settlers), and the circumstances of the case were particularly distressing. He had unfortunately become over-friendly out here with Madame Dhermainville and on receiving a letter by mail intimating that his wife and children were on their way out from home, he committed the rash act. The poor man left behind him several letters. One was addressed to the Coroner and Jurors at the inquest to be held on his body, desiring, by rehearsing the circumstances of his death, to spare them unnecessary trouble in collecting evidence. In this he solicited "the cheapest and meanest funeral—no *pukka* grave, parson's fees, etc." Another letter was addressed to his medical attendant, Dr. Goodeve, enclosing his fee and imploring him to defend the writer's memory from a verdict of "temporary insanity" which he feared might act as a slur upon his children. A third note was for Mr. Westernman of his office, assuring him that the books and cash were all quite correct. A fourth was directed to his friend, Mr. J. H. Stocqueler, editor of the *Englishman* who had that very evening met him at the Theatre, apparently in the best of spirits : but neither its contents nor those of another which had been written to his actress-friend, were made public at the inquest. Captain Cox's bearer deposed that a couple of minutes before the report of firearms, he had heard his master singing and beating time in his room as he used habitually to do. The Jury returned the brief verdict—*felo de se*. Captain Cox, according to the *Bengal Hurkaru*, also left behind him a long rambling Essay on Suicide which he desired might be printed (though not "published") for his son.

A fortnight later and Madame Dhermainville also had left the stage of life ! At first it was supposed she had died under suspicious circumstances, but Dr. Duncan Stewart, the Presidency Surgeon, who sat up with her

professionally through the night, certified the cause of death to have been cholera. She passed away at No. 97, Taltolla, where she had removed, and her funeral service was conducted by the Rev. R. B. Boswell, Chaplain of old St. James's. One of the newspapers, a morning or two after, referred to her as "the wretched Mrs. Dhermainville," while another, in rehearsing the principal events of her life, declared that her career might well serve as a warning to others. But after all these years one need no further seek to draw her frailties from their dread abode. In the old portion of Circular Road Cemetery the *soi-disant* Baron and the Captain of Invalids sleep in nameless graves, and hard by rises a modest headstone bearing the following simple inscription :—

" Sacred to the Memory
of
MARIA MADELINE TAYLOR,
who died 13th May, 1841,
aged 27 years."

In conclusion, it may be added that the facts recorded above have been amplified from an anecdotal article, entitled "The Pathos of Destiny" (by the present writer), which appeared not long ago in the *Englishman*.

ELLIOT WALTER MADGE.



The Jewel Bond in Nuncomar's Case.



BY the courtesy of the Chief Justice and the Judges of the High Court we are enabled to publish the accompanying facsimile of the bond, for the forgery of which and for the publication of which, knowing it to be forged, Nuncomar (Nanda Kumar) was hung. The circumstances leading to Nuncomar's prosecution and execution have been the subject of controversies on which we need not touch, and we need only remind our readers that they terminated a series of mutual accusations between Hastings and Nuncomar which formed a very important event in Hastings' career.

The bond came to light as follows :—Bollakey Doss was a Hindu banker of Calcutta. He made a will dated the 12th July 1769 and died in the same month, and in September probate of the will was granted to one of his executors. A large part of his fortune consisted of bonds of the East India Company. These, or some of them, were made over to Nuncomar, to whose care Bollakey Doss had commended his wife and daughter and in exchange for them he gave to Pudmookun Doss, to whom Bollakey Doss had left a quarter of his property and the management of his business, certain securities—one of them being this bond, cancelled by being torn at the top, as is shown in the illustration, though the original tear has been extended in the course of time.

The translation of the bond is as follows :—

"I who am Bollakey Doss.

"As a pearl necklace, a twisted pulghar, a twisted serpache and four rings,—two of which were rubies and two of diamonds, were deposited by Rogonaut Roy Geoo, on account of Maharajah Nandkumar, Bahadur, in the month of Assar in the Bengal year 1165 (1758), with me, in my house at Murshidabad, that the same might be sold ; at the time of the defeat of the army of the Nabob Mir Muhammed Qasim Khan, the money and effects of the house, together with the aforesaid jewels were plundered and carried away. In the year 1172 Bengal style (1765) when I arrived at Calcutta, the aforesaid Maharajah demanded the before mentioned deposit of jewels ; I could not produce the deposit when demanded, and on account of the bad state of my affairs, was unable to pay the value thereof ; I therefore promise and give it in writing, that when I shall receive back the sum of two lakhs of rupees, and

a little above, which is in the Company's cash at Dacca, according to the method of reckoning of the Company, I have agreed and settled, that the sum of 48,021 sicca rupees is the principal of the amount of the said deposit of jewels, which is justly due by me, and over and above that, a premium of four annas upon every rupee. Upon the payment of the aforesaid sum from the Company's cash, I will pay that sum, without excuse and evasion, to the aforesaid Maharajah. I have, for the above reasons, given these reasons in the form of a bond under my signature, that when it is necessary it may be carried into execution. Written on the seventh day of the month of Bhadon, in the Bengal year 1172."

So far the body of the instrument. Then on the right come No. 1 the exhibit number put on at the trial followed by the initials, it must be supposed, of the officers of the Court in whose custody it was. Below that a square seal inscribed Mahtab Roy under it in writing "Witness is made." Then an oval seal inscribed Bollakey Doss under it the writing "Writer of this." Then a square seal inscribed Muhammed Kamakuddin almost undecipherable in the facsimile, and little better in the original. Under this comes the writing "Sitlapat Vakil of Seath Bollakey Doss."*

The case for the prosecution was that matters taken by Muhammed Kamaluddin and Sitlapat were forgeries. This was proved directly by Kamaluddin (Commaul O Dein Ali Khan), who said he was the same man as Muhammed Kamaluddin, and denied having witnessed the deed. But he said he had once given his seal to Nuncomar to sign a petition for him, and that it was not returned. He said that a flaw existed in the seal, which we will leave it to our readers to identify, and that an earlier impression of the seal, which he produced, showed the same flaw. He also said that Nuncomar had admitted the forgery of his name to him.

Sitlapat was said to have been the Vakil and Munshi of Bollakey Doss, and to have died before him. The authenticity of his signature depended on his handwriting.

The rest of the case turned on evidence as to Bollakey Doss's affairs and went to show that he never executed the bond. We need not notice it here as it is not connected with the bond itself. We may, however, add that Sir James Stephen points out that the contents of the bond are suspicious as they

* Sir J. Stephen quoting Vol. XX of the State Trials concludes the translation :—

"It is witnessed.

Mahab Roy.

Scilaubut Roy (the Vakil of Seat Bollakey Doss).

Abdehoo Commaul Mahomed.

Alabd Bollakey Doss.

Written on the seventh day of the month of Bhadoor in the Bengal year 1172.'

stand. The bond is dated 1172 (1765) and sets out a deposit of jewels seven years previously. No receipt was produced by Nuncomar, and we must therefore conclude that he left the jewels with Bollakey Doss for seven years without any receipt. The recital, that is the story of the jewels being plundered at Murshidabad seems to give Nuncomar a very weak claim against Bollakey Doss, which the latter seems to have admitted without question. This seems unlikely, but if it were so the recitals were not necessary.

For the defence, evidence was given that Kamaluddin, the witness to the deed, was a different man from the witness at the trial. Witnesses were called who spoke to the execution of the deed and its signature by the persons by whom it is signed. There was also evidence of a statement of account by Bollakey Doss in which his liability to Nuncomar for Rs. 48,021 with interest at 25 per cent. was admitted.



The Preservation of Murshidabad.



THE following petition to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor will be read with the greatest interest and concern by all who care for the history of British India. Members of this Society have had an opportunity of seeing for themselves the decayed and forlorn condition of the city and any support they can give to this or other proposal of a like kind will be for them a matter of obligation. The Society would doubtless urge that special care should be taken to preserve what remains of the once great Katra Musjid of Murshid Kuli Khan and that the old Palace at Jaffarganj should be restored before it becomes too late.

To

THE HON'BLE SIR ANDREW HENDERSON LEITH FRASER, M.A., LL.D.,
K.C.S.I., LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF BENGAL.

The Humble Memorial of the Inhabitants of the City of Murshidabad.

MOST RESPECTFULLY SHEWETH :—

1. That Your Honor's humble memorialists are the citizens of Murshidabad, which once enjoyed opulence and prosperity as the ancient capital of Bengal, and which can legitimately claim to be the birthplace of British Rule in India. In this connection your humble memorialists desire to bring to Your Honor's kind notice this important historical fact that Lord Clive, when entering Murshidabad after the battle of Plassey, was pleased to observe that "the City of Murshidabad was as extensive, populous and rich as the City of London; with this difference, that there are individuals in the first possessing infinitely greater property than any of the last city." Macaulay remarks that "the ancient capital of Bengal was larger than London and rivalled the principal cities of Europe in commerce and trade." Therefore from a historical standpoint this city deserves special consideration not only so far as regards the preservation of its places and objects of interest but also in the furtherance of its general prosperity.

2. That your memorialists crave Your Honor's permission to represent that the city is gradually becoming depopulated on account of the existence of thick jungle and objectionable pits, covering large areas and committing a yearly havoc of its population to such an extent that it has attracted the attention of the Sanitary authorities, who, in their report, have upon statistics declared its mortality to be the highest in Bengal for the last three successive years, a fact which your memorialists cannot but view with the greatest concern and dismay. One most important point in connection with the subject of sanitation, is that, on account of the construction of the Murshidabad Railway, many of the subsidiary drains of the city which were connected with the main sewers, constructed at an enormous cost of about Rs. 30,000 by the Government, have been disconnected. Your memorialists, therefore, pray that the worn out drains be repaired and the disconnected ones be properly diverted to have free connection at the expense of the Government if the proper authorities will not or cannot attend to them.

3. That your memorialists also beg to draw Your Honor's kind attention to the fact that the silting up of the Bhagirathi and the stagnancy of its water cause an insufficient and unhealthy supply of pure drinking water. Your memorialists, under the circumstances, pray that, by *dredging the Bhagirathi* and making it navigable throughout the year, this long-felt desideratum be removed and the prospects of river traffic, which will directly improve the condition of the city, be increased. The experiment may be costly but is worth a trial in consideration of the interests involved.

4. That your memorialists beg leave to suggest that, having regard to the fertility of the soil, cheapness of labour and facility of irrigation, the *thick jungle may be cleared up at the expense of the Government and conveniently converted into a large lucrative farm*, thus improving the climate of the place and affording additional and practical means of livelihood to the poor labourers and cultivators and opening out new fields to the middle class people for acquiring a knowledge of cultivation. Your Honor's memorialists beg to observe that, for the improvement of the sanitary condition of the town, the objectionable *pits of larger dimensions may be easily converted into tanks and the smaller ones be completely filled up* so as to prevent the effusion of malarial gases and effluvia, and to give effect to this, as it would require at the least *Rs. 25,000*, which, for the limited resources of the memorialists, it would be impossible to afford, they fervently pray that Your Honor may be graciously pleased to sanction the amount for carrying out the project.

5. That Your Honor's memorialists most respectfully beg to bring it to Your Honor's foremost and kind notice that, for the preservation of the ancient dignity and prestige of this historic town and in consideration of the residence of many influential Zemindars, the Lalbagh Sub-Division was restored, though once abolished, after mature and deliberate consideration by two wise and kind-hearted successive Lieutenant-Governors who were held in high estimation by the public at large. Your memorialists, therefore, beg that, as a last boon to the people of this city, under Your Honor's liberal and sympathetic administration, Your Honor would be graciously pleased not only to *keep in status quo the existing Lalbagh Sub-Division* but to enhance its importance by converting it into a judicial centre, under the proposed scheme for the separation of the judicial from the executive and to adopt such measures as would increase the efficiency of the Sub-Division by introducing new Government offices and locating heads of departments such as the district headquarters station of the Murshidabad-Ranaghat Railway, etc.

6. That your memorialists beg to draw Your Honor's kind attention, that unless the aforesaid suggested measures be kindly taken up at an early date by the benign Government to arrest precipitous decay, this City will soon become a ruin like Gour and be the habitation of wild animals.

In conclusion, your memorialists beg to assure Your Honor that your humble memorialists have ever been loyal and devoted to the British Government, and that they have viewed with abhorrence the anarchist movement, and have deprecated the dastardly crimes that have been attempted or committed in furtherance of that movement. Your memorialists hope that Your Honor will now, as also after laying down the reins of Your Honor's august government, endeavour to further the interests of the historic town of Murshidabad by helping in whatever might tend to its advancement, for which they will ever remain grateful to Your Honor.

And your memorialists as in duty bound shall ever pray.

MURSHIDABAD, *The 10th August 1908.*

Leaves from the Editor's Note Book



FOR members of this Society the appearance of a new and enlarged edition of Dr. Busteed's *Echoes from Old Calcutta* is an event of historical importance. We have all been counting the days till this fourth edition appeared, and, now we have it in our hands, our expectations are more than realised. The portrait of Madame de Talleyrand, by Madame Vigée le Brun, is a most welcome addition, and there are several other notable additions in the way of illustrations and maps. Lord Campbell, in his *Lives of the Chief Justices*, tells us that he, at one time, proposed to bring a bill into Parliament not only to deprive an author who publishes a book without an index of the privilege of copy right, but also to subject him to a pecuniary penalty. The want of an index to the *Echoes* has, until now, been the only serious defect in the book to be complained of: but the defect was a grave one. Horace Binney did not overstate the matter when he wrote: "I have come to regard a good book as curtailed of half its value, if it has not a pretty full index." We, therefore, note with special satisfaction that the fourth edition of Dr. Busteed's book is provided with an index. Turning over the pages of this new edition, it will be found that, on almost every page, the Doctor has amplified his statements, and enriched his text. I beg to congratulate Messrs. Thacker, Spink and Co. most heartily both on the score of their good fortune in having the services of so distinguished a writer at their disposal, and also on the excellent workmanship displayed in the printing of this handsome volume. Dr. Busteed's book is one in which we Calcutta folk should take the greatest pride. M. Lenotre, in his *Vielles Mansions, Vieux Papiers*, has done for modern Paris what Busteed has achieved for Calcutta, but please consider the enormous difference in the supply of the materials with which Busteed and Lenotre have had to do their work. That Busteed can write a book about Calcutta, which can compare on the most unequal terms with Lenotre's books on Paris, is surely the most solid testimony that could be desired to Dr. Busteed's literary power. It is not too much to say that Dr. Busteed's book has a place of its own in the history of English literature.

ON page 100, in regard to Mr. Justice Stephen Cæsar Lemaistre, Dr. Busteed writes: "His wife, who did not, I believe, accompany him to India

was Mary, daughter of James Roche, of Dublin, and sister of 'the celebrated Captain D. Roche' (for what he was celebrated I have not found), but she was also 'celebrated for her charms and elegance of manners.' So described even still in the catalogues of rare engravings." The reason for which Captain Roche was celebrated was duelling. In the account of Charles Grant's journey out to India in 1773, given in Mr. H. Morris' biography of that worthy, we read :

"Soon after leaving England a serious quarrel arose between Captain Roche, who had brought on board a reputation for strife, and Captain Fergusson, a brother officer, with whom Grant and his party had contracted a friendship. According to the evidence of the surgeon of the vessel, 'Captain Roche had rendered himself so obnoxious to the other passengers that he was voted out of the cabin mess.' This quarrel increased in virulence and intensity until they reached the Cape of Good Hope, where the ship arrived on the 4th September 1773. That evening a violent fracas took place between the two officers at Cape Town where the passengers had landed; and during the scuffle Captain Roche stabbed Captain Fergusson, who almost immediately expired. The two accounts of this conflict were diametrically opposed to each other. Grant asserted that while he and half a dozen other passengers, including Captain Fergusson, were at supper in a boarding house, the landlord informed the latter that a Captain Matthew wanted to speak to him. Soon after he had left the room, a scuffle was heard, and Grant, who had closely followed him, saw, in the imperfect light, Captain Fergusson fall mortally wounded, and at the same time observed that his assailant was running away. Grant was fully persuaded that Captain Roche was guilty of deliberate murder. Captain Roche, who, two years later, while he was detained in prison in England, published his version of the story, declared that, as he was passing the boarding house, Captain Fergusson rushed out and savagely attacked him with a cane and a sword, and that while defending himself he unintentionally slew him *

"Captain Roche was tried for murder by the Dutch authorities, was acquitted by the Fiscal or the Supreme Judge at the Cape of Good Hope, and was permitted to proceed to Bombay by a French vessel. There he was tried by the Governor and his Council, acting as Justices of the Peace, in August 1774, and was sent to England under arrest, where he arrived in June 1775. He was again, on 11th December, put on his trial before a Commission appointed by the King's Privy Council, consisting of Baron Burland, one of H. M.'s Judges, the Lord Mayor, and two others at the Old Bailey. Act 33 of Henry VIII., for trial of offences committed in foreign parts outside the King's dominions, under which the Commission acted, rendered it imperative that the verdict should be one wholly of acquittal or condemnation, so that the offence could not be brought in as manslaughter. The jury acquitted the prisoner. The evidence was certainly most meagre and contradictory. With one exception, the principal witnesses were in India. The verdict was received by the public attending the Court with an unseemly exhibition of feeling in favour of the prisoner, which apparently there was no attempt on the part of the judges to suppress. This case created a great sensation at the time; but there is nothing to prove that it exercised an influence on the

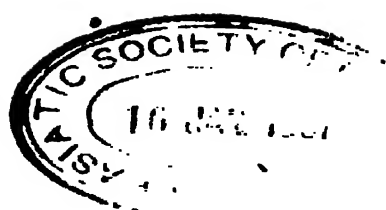
* *A Plain and Circumstantial Account of the Transactions between Captain Roche and Lieutenant Fergusson, London 1773.* The present writer has examined some of the unpublished documents relative to this incident. Roche attempts in one of these to involve Charles Grant in a conspiracy to murder him.

mind of the nation adverse to the reprehensible custom of duelling, which was only too common during the last quarter of the eighteenth century."

"YES, Mr. Editor, this is doubtless very interesting, but what ground have you for identifying this particular Captain Roche with him who was the brother-in-law of S. C. Lemaistre?" In reply, I ask the reader to turn to the *Original Letters of Asiaticus*—a reprint of which book, carefully edited by my friend, Mr. K. N. Dhar, and annotated by myself, will shortly be on sale in Calcutta. The author of the *Original Letters* is one Captain Philip Dormer Stanhope, who reached Cape Town in May 1773. From that place he writes: "At present the conversation of the town is entirely taken up with the duel lately fought between the celebrated Captain David Roche, generally known by the appellation of Tyger Roche, and Captain Fergusson, belonging to the Company's land forces in Bengal. Fergusson fell in the engagement, and the story is here told rather to the disadvantage of Roche; but I believe there were no witnesses, who could prove the least improper behaviour on the part of Roche, and that his accusers were influenced by a most unjust and cruel prejudice. However, he secured a retreat on board a French vessel then lying in harbour, and is by this time arrived in India; the severity of the Dutch laws against duelling rendering it absolutely necessary for him to adopt the most expeditious mode of escaping from their territories." But Roche had not reached India. In July, Stanhope met with him on the Isle of Joanna, where he found Roche's ship lying, "dismasted and deserted by her crew, upon a reef of rocks." Let "Asiaticus" continue:—

He now leads a most unhappy life, amidst the execrations of the seamen, who look on him as another Jonas, and think themselves involved in the punishment, which the Almighty thus miraculously has inflicted upon the wretch who has dared to violate his commandments. Whatever the faults of Roche may be, I am sure the want of hospitality is not one. *Having formerly known his sister, who is married to one of the judges lately appointed to Bengal,* I took the liberty of introducing myself and was received by him in his Indian hut with a politeness and affability which would have done honour to a more splendid mansion. I was shocked to see a gentleman, who had once experienced all the elegancies of life, labouring under such unmerited distress, and was easily persuaded to alleviate the horrors of his solitude during the few days we shall remain at Joanna by bringing my bed on shore and sharing with him the conveniences of his hut, which, though not overburdened with furniture or superfluous ornaments, is yet a very comfortable retreat, when compared to a dirty cabin. He related to me all the circumstances of his duel, together with the various provocations, which, as a military man, he was obliged to resent; and declared his intention of demanding an impartial trial upon his arrival at Bombay, when I doubt not of his being honourably acquitted of every aspersion, which the malice of his enemies has wantonly thrown upon his character.

THE author of the *Original Letters of Asiaticus* was, as I have said, Captain Philip Dormer Stanhope; this is clear from the title-page of the second





THE OCTAGONAL SUMMER HOUSE.
(Photo by C. F. Hooper.)

edition published (a year after the first) in 1785. Dr. Robert Watt (*Bibliotheca Britannica*, Vol. II, p. 875) and Allibone (*Critical Dictionary of English Literature*) identify this Captain Stanhope with the Fourth Earl of Chesterfield, but that noble man died in 1773, and the experiences recorded in the *Original Letters* only commence 'in that year. It must be borne in mind that the *Original Letters of Asiaticus* is a work quite distinct from the more often quoted book which has borne these three several titles:—

1. *Ecclesiastical and Historical Sketches respecting Bengal, 1803.*
2. *Compendious Ecclesiastical and Historical Sketches of Bengal since the Foundation of Calcutta, 1819.*
3. *Calcutta in the Days of Yore: the Memoirs of Asiaticus, 1869.*

"Asiaticus" has been generally quoted at second hand, and it is not surprising therefore that the question "Who was Asiaticus?" has been somewhat complicated. The authorship of the *Ecclesiastical and Historical Sketches* has been ascribed to Warren Hastings' ardent but indiscreet champion, Major Scott Waring, and although there is no reason to doubt that the Major made use of that *nom-de-plume* in the course of his pamphlet warfare, it is clear that the author of the *Sketches*, who was in Calcutta in the momentous year 1757 and who had conversed with Omichand, could not have been the Major. Mr. Dhar's reprint of the *Original Letters* will leave writers who quote "Asiaticus" without excuse if they omit to give their references.

ON pp. 204-205 of Vol. I, Dr. Busteed set the Society the following problem:—

"In Mackrabie's original diary, I remember seeing this entry: it occurs when speaking of the card-playing at 'Barasutt,' February, 1776:—

'Next morning such of us as were not too fatigued to leave our mattresses rode or walked to an Octagon Summer House built upon an eminence by the late Mr. Lambert, who was the husband of Lady Hope. This is a pretty toy erected on an eminence and distant about a mile from Barasutt, with walks and flowering shrubs and gardens, the ashes of that gentlemen (for his body was burned by his particular direction) are deposited under the building.' Is there anything known or traceable about these names, that structure, or that deposit under it?"

If the reader will turn back to page 261 of the present volume he will see that the honour fell to Mr. K. N. Dhar of bringing back to knowledge the site of this old Octagon Summer House. A few weeks ago, I, in company with my friend, Mr. C. H. Hooper, repaired to Baraset. We were quite prepared to wander far and wide without discovering the Octagon, but at the

Railway Station we fell in with a most excellent *ticca ghari* driver who seemed to have divined the special object of our journey, and who drove us off in great triumph to the Madhumarali tank. Despite the scriptural precept commending to us the praise of great men, we do not often praise our *ticca ghariwallas*, but our friend at Baraset certainly deserves all the praise I can bestow. With the greatest enthusiasm he took us to every spot in or about Baraset we desired to visit, and, if only I could have understood more perfectly the information he was ready to impart, I should have returned a far better informed person than, I am afraid, I remain. Mr. Hooper's photographs record our finds on this occasion.

IN the last number I wrote (p. 417), in regard to the Memorial of those who perished in the Patna massacre of 1763, "the name of Sir William Hope, Bart., will be noted. His wife made her escape to the Dutch Factory, and I have no doubt that she was the Lady Hope who married the Mr. Lambert whose Octagon at Baraset was mentioned by Dr. Busteed." I consulted Burke's *Baronetage*, but, alas! while I found that a Sir W. Hope, Bart., died in 1763, he is reported to have been unmarried; but, on consulting the registers at St. John's, I found this entry against 27th April 1764—

William Lambert and Lady Margaret Hope, Widow.

According to old custom, Lady Hope, although married to Mr. Lambert, elected still to be called by her higher social appellation, and on 1st February 1768 I find Mr. Lambert successfully petitioning for a passage for "Lady Hope" on the *Lord Elgin* (Captain Thomas Cooke). Poor Lambert had apparently, like most Calcutta men of his times, many a painful loss of fortune.* He entered the Company's Service about 1760, and from 1763 to 1766 was Military Paymaster-General; then came a redistribution of offices, and our friend, married to a lady of consequence and blessed with a family, was suddenly left deprived of the bulk of his income, and also with a most inconvenient amount of unsold timber, which he had provided for the purpose of securing the new Fort William from river encroachments. At this time he seems to have fallen into discredit on the score of his accounts. I have traced him through several appointments. He was but a mere Factor in October 1766: in January of 1767, he was Clerk of the Court of Requests, and I have traced his name in the records of the "Court of Cutcherry." In 1768, as we have seen, he sent his wife home. I can trace him fourth on the Murshidabad Council of Revenue in 1771, and

* In 1766, he borrowed Rs. 51,888 at 10 per cent. interest per annum from "Kissen Charn Taccor, Sircar to the Storekeeper of the new works," and in 1768 sold a new house to the same person. These transactions led to litigation after Lambert's death. I find traces of his commercial speculations (not fortunate) in the old Collectorate records of Midnapore.



THE OCTAGONAL SUMMERHOUSE, BARASKI.

(Photo by C. F. Hooper, Esq.)



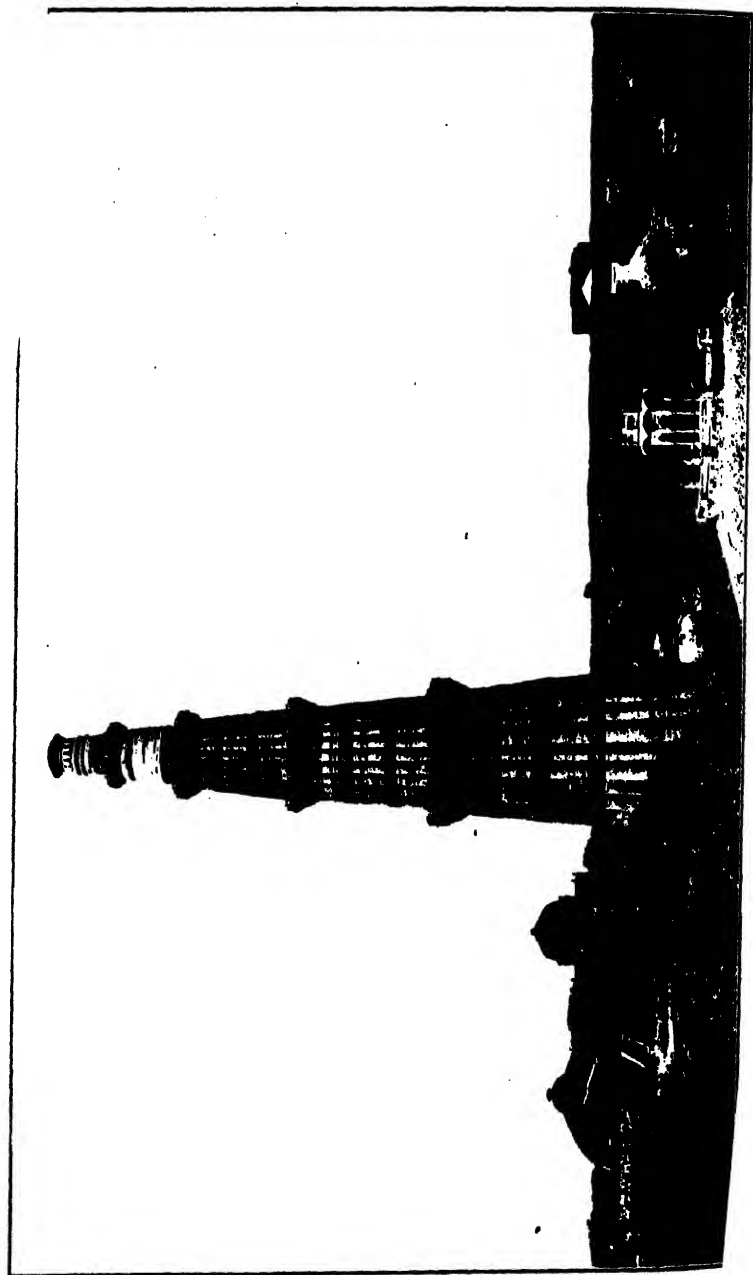
A NAMELESS MONUMENT AT I

(Photo by C. F. Hooper, Esq.)



MRS. FAY'S PLACE OF BUSINESS, THE OLD POST OFF

(Photo by C. F. Hooper, Esq.)



THE KITCHI MENAH, TALLIE,
OFFICE OF THE U. S. GEOLOGICAL SURVEY

I find his signature as a member of the Board of Inspection in the old Collectorate Records of Chittagong. On 6th February 1772 he was appointed Chief at Dacca, but, on the resignation of President Cartier, he was given a place on the Council at Calcutta. He remained at Dacca till August, and then removed to Murshidabad, "that place so much superior in point of climate:" thence he came to Calcutta. In 1774 he became Chief at Dinagepore, and there he died on 18th September, "at 8 A.M. after nine days' illness." Surely this old Octagon has a pathetic love story to tell us. Think of what Lady Hope must have passed through in the troubles of 1763, and of poor Lambert, after his long separation from his wife, asking nothing more than that his ashes might be buried beneath the dear old Octagon at Baraset. Should not the Society do something for its preservation?

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL CRAWFORD'S article on Pandua, with its illustrations, will show that an expedition to Pandua will be worth the Society's while. It is quite possible in May to spend a good hour and a half at the ruins, leaving Calcutta about 3-0 P.M. and getting back only just a little late for dinner, but this would not be possible in the cold weather when the evenings close in early. The ruins are a good mile and a half from the Railway Station; and it would be unwise to attempt a visit in the rains. The best course the Society could take, would be to leave Calcutta early one morning in December or January, visit Pandua, and then proceed to Burdwan, thus giving one whole day to two interesting places. By way of contrast, I give here a view of the Kitub Minar at Delhi.

WHEN this combined expedition has been accomplished, the Society will have seen a good deal of the Hughli, Burdwan, and Murshidabad districts. Will it be possible to extend our survey to the Jessore district? How full of interest, for instance, would be a visit to Muhammadpur—the great quadrangular enclosure in which stood the Fortress and Palace of Rájá Sitá Rám Roy. By the year 1896 the ruins of the Palace had become inaccessible owing to the dense jungle growth: how things stand at the present day I cannot tell, but if a visit on the part of our Society were to serve to bring about a rescue of these monuments of ancient Bengal from sheer destruction, we should have very good cause for congratulation. In the *List of Ancient Monuments in Bengal*, published by the Government of Bengal, there is a list of the Muhammadpur monuments from which, as I understand the book is no longer procurable, I will venture to make some extracts.

Fort ruins.

There is a large quadrangle, which encloses most of his (the Rájá's) buildings, within which he kept his soldiers, and

The Rájá of Nátore is in possession of The Fort is now in ruins and overgrown with

within which was his own house. It measures more than half a mile in each direction, and is surrounded on each side by an excavated ditch, the earth of which thrown inwards is used to raise the level of the quadrangle, and specially of the edges of it, leaving as it were a ramp round it. The ditch on the eastern and northern sides has gradually filled in, principally through the influence of the river, but that on the western side is still full of water. On the southern side, the ditch is larger than on any other side. It forms a fine sheet of water, a mile long, looking almost like a river. By the earth obtained from these excavations, and by that obtained from tanks within its area, the level of almost the whole quadrangle has been considerably raised, a work which in itself represents an enormous amount of labour.

The chief entrance to the quadrangle is at the south-east corner. From here is seen toward the north the high and broad ramp upon which stood the bazar, and at the southern end of which is the more meagre bazar of the present day. On the south, just outside the boundary of the quadrangle, is Sítárám's great tank, the Rám Ságar, and a quarter of a mile to the west of this is another tank called the Sukh Ságar, or the lake of pleasure.

Rám Ságar and
Sukh Ságar
tanks.

Temple of Ram-
chandra.

It was erected about the year 1800 by the Nátoze Rájá, whose family obtained the zamindari after it had passed out of Sítárám's hands. It is a two-storeyed building, the upper storey being smaller in extent than the lower, and each storey having an arched verandah in front. The building contains nothing remarkable. It was endowed with certain rent-free lands, which included the jalkar of the Rám Ságar, but its endowments were resumed by Government.

Dol Mandir
Temple.

The building just described is on the south of the road, and on the north side, in front of it, is an open space, in which is the "Dol Mandir," where the swinging festival at the fullmoon of Phálgun (the Dol Játá) is held. This is a building of Sítárám's time. The form of the building is that of a magnified sentry-

the whole
estate of Rájá
Sítá Rám Roy.
The Fort is in
the custody of
his Naib at
Muhammáda-
pur.

dense jungle.

The Rájá of Nátoze is in possession. It is in charge of the Rájá's Naib. The service is still carried on from the profits of certain rent-free lands, and is managed by the same person who looks after the services in Sítárám's old temple. The idol is daily worshipped.

The building is
still in good
order.

In possession of the Nátoze Rájá. The Mandir is still used for the performance of Dol Játá pujá every

The building is still in good order, the plaster work being occasionally repaired. The plinth needs repair.

box, a pointed arched roof, supported upon four columns placed square; these again elevated upon a pedestal of three tiers.

year, and is in charge of the Naib.

Close to the temple there are three buildings, the *Punya Garh* on the north, the cutcherry of *Parganá Nalda* on the south, and the jail.

Sítáram's treasure tank.

Along the western side of this cutcherry and jail, extends a tank, at the further side of which are the ruins of *Sítáram's* own house. The tank runs up close to the house, and a wall, the foundations of which are still easily traceable, ran round the tank on the east and north sides, enclosing it so as to be within *Sítáram's* private enclosure. This tank was used as a treasure-room. The wealth that *Sítáram* accumulated was thrown in here until it was wanted. It is said that great wealth even now remains buried at the bottom of the tank beneath the grassy jungle which now fills it.

The *Rájá* of *Nátore* is in good order, having been re-excavated some years ago.

Sítáram's residence.

Sítáram's own house is unapproachable for the density of the jungle, which has been allowed to spread over almost the whole quadrangle.

Do. do. Is in utter ruins and overgrown with dense jungle.

Punya Garh (Fort).

The main entrance to this fort is designated *Singh Darwaza* or *Lion Gate* which admitted to *Sítáram's* private buildings.

Within the *Naldi Zemindari* of the *Paikpára* Estate.

This gate was once a large structure, but now only the arch of it remains. The top of the arch is in the shape of one-half of a dome, the hollow side forming outwards.

The *Lion Gate* leads to a little courtyard, with three buildings, one on each side, not much larger than ordinary native huts, but built of bricks. That facing the gate is the *malkhana* or treasure-room of *Sítáram* and that on the left side is the guard-house. These two buildings were used for these purposes by the *Rájás* of *Nátore*, when after *Sítáram's* time they obtained the *zamindari*. When, however, their *zamindari* of *Naldi* was sold up (about 1800), the purchasers forcibly expelled the *Nátore* people from these houses, and they, obliged to erect a treasure-room for themselves, built the little one on the right-hand side.

Adjoining the gate on the north, is the *Punya Garh*, that is, the place where the first collections of the year were made, a half religious ceremony is performed about *Ashádha* (June-July) in each year at the principal collecting places of the *zamindari*.

rising out of the middle of it. This tower is as high again as the building, and is composed merely of the cupola and the painted arches which support it. The front of the temple shows a face gradually rising from the sides to the middle, and flanked by two towers which rise rather higher than the roof. The tower to the front present a face showing three arches of the pointed form, one above the other, supporting a pointed dome.

good order, though signs of decay are showing themselves. The temple is in good order, excepting a few jungle plants growing upon the top of the temple, and there are also signs of cracks visible on the top of the temple.

The top of the front face is, as already stated, in the form of the arc of a circle, higher in the middle than at the sides. Beneath the top line, and parallel with it, two bands of ornamented tracery are carried across the face, and between them a series of little sculptured squares, about 20 in all. The top line is also itself ornamented, and with the two bands noticed, occupies about a quarter of the height of the front. Beneath these the face is divided into five equally broad portions. The two outer parts contain each three perpendicular bands of ornamented tracery with two lines of little sculptured squares between them. The other three parts contain doorways, of which the centre one is higher than the other two. In outline they are of the pointed-arch form, but instead of having their sides simple lines, they are waved, so as to be a succession of semi-circles. Above each of the doorways is a large square of equal breadth with the doorway, containing a device which at first sight looks remarkably like the "lion and unicorn fighting for the crown." It is, however, intended to represent two lions supporting a chalice. The spaces between the sides of the arches and the squares above the doorways are also ornamented.

The whole face of the building, therefore, and partly also of the towers, is one mass of tracery and figured ornament. The sculptured squares, above referred to, of which there must be about fifty on this front face, represent each an episode in Krishna's life. The figures in them, as well as all the rest of the ornament, are done in relief on the brickwork of the building, the bricks being sculptured either before or after burning. The figures are very well done, and the tracery is all perfectly regular, having none of the slipshod

style which too often characterizes native art in these districts.

The sides of the building present much the same appearance as the front, but, instead of three doorways or two spaces, they have five doorways: within the doorways, both in front and at the sides, is a verandah, and the entrance to the temple is from this verandah, the image of Krishna being inside.

On the top of the lowest arch of the tower a small round stone, twelve or eighteen inches in diameter, is let into the face of the brickwork. It bears a dedicatory inscription written in the Sanskrit language with Bengali letters, which though fairly formed, are somewhat huddled together, and are not very easily read. The inscription, which is written in four lines of Prakriti metre, is as follows:—Vana, dwandre, anga chandre pariganita sake Krishna, tosh, abhilashi—Srimad, visvāsa, bhash, ud-bhaba, Kula, kamale, bhasaka Bhauntulyah—Ajasram Sauda, yukte ruchira, rūchi, Hare Krishna, geham vichitram—Sri, Sītārāma Rāya jadupati nagare bhaktiman, utsasarjja.

"In the year of Sak, counted by arrow-pair-limb-moon, desirous of gratifying Krishna, Sītārāma Rāya, who is like a resplendent sun on the lotus of the family, to which attaches the great name of Bisvās (that is, who cast—a lustre on the great Bisvās family, to which Sītārām belonged, as the sun casts a lustre on the lotus), erected in his devotion this splendid house of Krishna, within Jadupatinagar, a city filled with innumerable mansions, and so beautiful (that it) deprives of beauty that which is beautiful."

Jadupati and Kānhāyā are both synonyms for Krishna. *Jadupatinagar* is accordingly made, for metrical reasons, to do service for Kānhāyānagar, the name of the village within which this temple is situated. Sītārām apparently considered that the many buildings which he had erected within his quadrangle were within the limits of the village Kānhāyānagar, and therefore refers to the village as "filled with innumerable mansions."

[The date remains to be explained:—

"Arrow" refers to the *five* arrows of Cupid.

"Pair" of course stands for *two*.

"Limb"—The Hindu enumerates *six* limbs.

"Moon"—Of course there is only one moon.

The year therefore is 1625 Sák, which began in April 1703.]

Temple
Balarám.

of The building which looks into the same square, facing southward, is a temple of Balarám. It has no architectural pretensions, being in the shape of two native huts placed along each other, the front one being a verandah opening in front with three arches, and the one further back being the abode of Balarám.

In the possession of the Natore Rájá. Daily worship of the idols is performed.

The original building is not in existence, but a small square building with a flat roof has been constructed by the Natore Rájá on the same site.

The building on the east side of the square, and facing west, is a much finer one than the last, though not nearly so good as the temple of Krishna. Its frontage shows three doors, the centre one being higher than the other two, and all being of the pointed-arch shape. They are each surmounted by a square containing, in relief, the same device which is seen in the finest structure, namely, two lions and a cup. The top of this building is in the three domes, all of the pointed form and finished off with pinnacles, and the central dome is higher than the two side ones; it is both higher in position (as the frontage of the building rises towards the centre), and it is larger in form. Between the doors and across the top of the face there is a good deal of tracery work executed in relief in the brickwork.

An octagonal building closes the square on the south. It was the place for keeping the vessels which belonged to the service of the idols. It is said they were very fine vessels, but one of the zamindars, who had control over them, considered he could make them more useful in his own service, and stole them.

IN the article "Our Work," which appeared in the first number of *BENGAL : PAST AND PRESENT*, I wrote :—"In the compound of a babu's villa at Champdani are two European graves—one of them the grave of a soldier in his day distinguished for bravery in the great struggle in the Carnatic." The inscriptions on the two graves read as follows :—

To the Memory of Major JAMES MOORE,
Who so gallantly distinguished himself during the late war in the Carnatic.
He died the 26th of January, 1785, aged 34 years.

To the Memory of Robert Wilson, Esq.,
Many years in the Service of the Hon'ble Company,
who departed this life here on 9th June, A.D. 1813, aged 73 years.

"ON the 26th of January," writes Captain S. Parlbv, "a Major Moore of the Bengal detachment destroyed himself by discharging the contents of a fowling piece into his mouth. This melancholy circumstance was reported to Colonel Pearse (who appears to have been absent from Ghlyretti) by Captain Williamson, and we find the signatures of the undermentioned officers to the opinion that 'a violent depression of spirits, almost bordering on insanity caused the fatal act.'

"D. Ochterlony, Lieut.

"T. Eales, Lieut.

"G. A. Swiney, Lieut.

"Edwin Lloyd, Lieut.

"A. Hennessey, Adjutant."

The Ochterlony, who signs himself here, is the hero commemorated by the great column on the Calcutta maidan.

THE following document, which I reprint from J. C. Price's *Notes on the History of Midnapore* (1876), will be of considerable interest to the student of Old Calcutta.

Notice is hereby given that on Monday, the 17th January 1774, will be sold by public outcry, at the old playhouse by the Company's auctioneer, the following houses belonging to the Hon'ble Company:—

The House and Garden of Dum-Dumma.—A large upper-roomed house, part pucca, and part cutcha, in good repair, consisting of five bed-chambers, two closets, two backstairs, a hall and veranda all round it, with a large staircase. The chambers and closets below as the above. Stabling for six horses and two carriages, a range of godowns, a separate cutcha building for a bath, another for a billiard table. A large garden, part raised with a very fine tank and surrounded with a ditch, and a spot of ground to the east and another to the south without the ditch and containing in all 126 beegahs and 9 cottahs.

The House and Garden of Baraset.—An upper-room house, part pucca, part cutcha, contains four bed chambers, two backstairs, two halls and veranda, a great staircase to the south. A new cutcha detached building, consisting of a cook-room, bath-room and bake-house with a stable at some distance from the house, built of posts and a straw chupper, very large and commodious, sufficient for ten carriages and four and twenty horses. A garden surrounded with railing, and a ditch and a tank, and a very extensive avenue in front which leads to the public road, containing in all about 27 beegahs 19 cottahs.

The Old Council House.—A cutcha building in Calcutta, with a detached building for a godown, cook-room, etc., and a compound, part surrounded with a railing, containing 4 beegahs, 11 cottahs of ground.

Cutwally.—Situated in the great bazar near the Nawab's house. Is a small compound with two cutcha buildings, one upper and lower.

The New Foundry.—Situated in Darrumtollah bazar, near a mile from the river. Is an oblong plot of ground about 270 feet long and 95 broad, in which there is 159 square feet of pucca building in sheds, shops, and furnaces in a very good repair, being all built since the year 1769. The whole is about 2 beegahs of ground.

The Magazine Yard.—Situated between the street leading from the Government House and the old burying ground, the range of godowns belonging to Major Fortnom on the south side, and the garden of the head-surgeon's house and a house occupied by Captain Hog on the north. Is a plot of ground nearly a square one hundred yards, two sides of which are covered with strong sheds in bad repair, and near the centre is a circular building of pucca 60 feet in diameter, which has formerly been used as a magazine. There is also in the plot a tank about one hundred feet square and contains about 6 beegahs and 4 cottahs of ground.

The conditions of the sale for current rupees to be paid two months after the day of the sale.

By order of the Hon'ble the President and Board of Inspection.

FORT WILLIAM :
The 9th December 1773.

J. BAUGH,
Secretary, Board of Inspection.

THIS advertisement is in itself a little museum of topographical interest. In the first place, the "Old Play House" is the building in the Lall Bazar which screened Suraj-ud-daula's guns in 1756. The auctioneer is George Williamson, whom Sydney Grier identifies with one who was formerly Sir Eyre Coote's English groom—an identification I cannot accept. A good deal about Williamson may be read in my *Early History of Freemasonry in Bengal* (Thacker, Spink & Co.). For the Dum-Dumma House the reader must turn back to p. 243 of the present volume. I shall have a word to say on the score of Baraset later on. The Magazine Yard is, of course, the eastern portion of the present compound of St. John's Church. The site of the tank referred to may be marked by the Chaplain's house. On 3rd April 1782 sold this piece of land to Warren Hastings for sicca Rs. 10,000, but there is some mystery attaching to the transaction. On 22nd December 1783, Hastings informed the "Church Committee" that he had received from the "Maharajah Nobkissen" the gift of the piece of ground adjoining the old burying ground on the east, and known as the Old Powder Magazine Yard, for the purpose of building a Church. The formal conveyance of the ground by Warren Hastings to the Church Building Committee was executed on the 1st February 1785. But where was situated that *cutch* Council House?

My friend, Lt.-Col. Crawford, has called my attention to two documents connected with the loss of the *Grosvenor*. The first is a letter, dated 1st July 1783, from the Dutch Governor of the Cape (Joakim Van Plettenberg) to the Governor-General (Warren Hastings), reporting the loss of the ship. This was the earliest intelligence of the disaster that reached Calcutta. Holland and Great Britain were at the time at war, and consequently the exertions of the Dutch to recover and care for the lost English folk was

specially appreciated. The second document is a draft of a letter to the Dutch Governor, presenting him with a diamond ring, which cost Rs. 11,500 and was inscribed *Ab hoste doceri*. The letter states that Mr. Secretary J. P. Auriol was to be the bearer of the ring and the letter.

WALTER K. FIRMINER.

Note.—By an unfortunate accident a footnote has been misplaced in the present number. The footnote which appears on p. 479. It should have appeared on p. 477 : it relates to the *fracas* at the Court House.



Job Charnock of the Mid-Day Halt.

(24TH AUGUST 1690.)

THE warring shires with strife were torn,
And England's King stood sore in need,
When, to an English home, was born
A child of rock-hewn birth and breed.

They named him Job before the Lord—
—Job Charnock—at a font unknown,
While crop-eared might with lifted sword
Frowned froward by a self-broke throne.

Was it a kneeling mother thought
On him of old who walked upright,
Who spake with God, and ever wrought
Upstanding in his Maker's sight?

Ere Moses dashed the Law in twain
At sight of Israel's molten kine
In herding Uz was fashioned plain
The rule of His acclaimed design.

Clear called from out the bolt-ripped cloud—
'To finch not though the mountains jar,—
And the proud dark, colossal, shroud
The rightness of the things that are.

Sad Job of Time's unshackled dawn
Saw Sabea smite and cursed not fate.
He held the hand that rocks the morn
And wakes the chambers of the gate.

And, counting darts as stubble, knew
To deem as nought the shaking spear,
The habergeon to eschew
And front high wrath with kingly fear.

And Job of England took the thread
Of fate as spun at Heaven's command,
And knew the slings of doubt and dread
But deep things out of darkness planned.

Perchance, his sire on Nasely sward
Saw England's lion standard shine,—
And heard the shouts for church and lord
Ring all along the charging line.

Then saw the stallion squadrons reel
At shock of pike and thrust of blade,
And, thwarted by a wall of steel,
Resistless Rupert all unmade—

The flank flecked manless steeds in flight,
The shattered lance, the dinted mail,
A mob-led kingdom madly right,
And Rupert's ride without avail.

For who shall scan His wisdom dread?
The padding droves of Uz delight
To greet the war-star's panels red
That blush the sky-scape of the night.

Job's youth is set behind the reach
Of seeking ones who probe and plot.
Mayhap, he heard the tinker teach
The Pilgrim way that leads to God.

And crossed the slough by Christian's side
And met the lions, face to face,
And fought, with him, Despair and Pride—
Great-hearted to the stool of Grace.

(Who thinks to-day on Bedford town—
On Bedford bridge and reedy stream,
Or heeds to take the old tome down
To con the glorious tinker's dream?)

Mayhap, he watched by Whitehall gate
Blunt Oliver, uncrowned of men,
Full sceptred in a coach and eight—
With Milton of the sefaph pen.

And shouted from the kerb-stone throng,
The while the palfreys pranced in line,
And thought on that majestic song
Of Ormuz and Golconda's mine.

How Salem's courts of lattice laced
Loud fluttered as the peacocks preened
For silken girls, who laughing, graced
The rose zenanas, ivory screened.

What time the poet ruler strode,
Arm laden, to the scented room,
And tossed to white gemmed hands the load
Of woven foam from Dacca's loom.

And mused on Jehan's marble dream,—
High altar of a sleepless love—
The bubble dome—the yellow stream—
The towers that top the cypress grove.

And heard the East a call at thought
Of all the apes that swung serene
On Olivet from Ophir brought
For pearl-roped Sheba's wistful queen.

Who hears the East a-call, must rise
And follow fast, in spite of fears,
Though in her lurking glance there lies
The sadness of a thousand years.

The pilot gone, they slipped the Nore, &
And left the luring rocks behind,
Where Tarshish ships, in days of yore,
Were broken by the Eastern wind.

And hugged the coast by Atlas crowned,
Then plunging, made the open main,
Nor dared the moorman's seas that bound
The couchant lion of granite Spain.

Then Eastward Ho, for Ormuz gold !
And Eastward Ho, for Cape and Bay !
Though England's oaks are gnarled and old
And England's noons are chill and grey.

The wisdom of the world is wise
But weary with a weight of fears.
With us the course compelling lies
'Tis ours to shape th' unfolding years.

They met the Dutchman bellying past,
Where crested combers overwhelm,
Full hard against 'h' opposing blast
And Vanderdecken at the helm.

And, hungerbitter, sought and sailed
Where thick clouds bind the sullen wave,
Where moves Behemoth cedar tailed,
With eyes like morning's eye-lids brave.

Out of his mouth go lamps a burn,
And all the flakes of all his flesh
Wear crimson when the levens turn
The wine-dark flood to light afresh.

By amber planets, wan with rain,
Stiff moons that tease the troubled soul,
Whose meerschaumed seas slide sheer amain
Unending to the southern pole.

Then by the Bay where pirates thrive—
The pirates who the galleons find—
And ill sagged gusts and gales contrive
A cauldron of the vexing wind

The rest is told for those who seek,
The rest is writ for all may see
How Charnock like the well greaved Greek,
Held for the West the East in fee.

He halted, where the myna wings,
And laid the walls of William's day—
And all the keels of all the Kings
Come riding up the waterway.

Wide Asia's Queen of sure emprise,—
The city million-loomed to bless,—
The city of the flaming skies,—
The city of the world's caress.

Of fighting Holwell undismayed,—
Of Hastings of the wondrous brow,
Of Plassey of the leaping blade,—
Of keening kite and scarlet bough.

And here he sleeps, and by his side,
Sole sharer of death's kindly gloom,
The sapphire girdled dark-eye'd bride
He wrested from the sandal fume.

White Wielder of the Law unbought,
High Wardress of the East's desire.
The city of the scatheless court,
The city of the pointing spire !

DAK (in the *Empire*.)

General Note-Book.



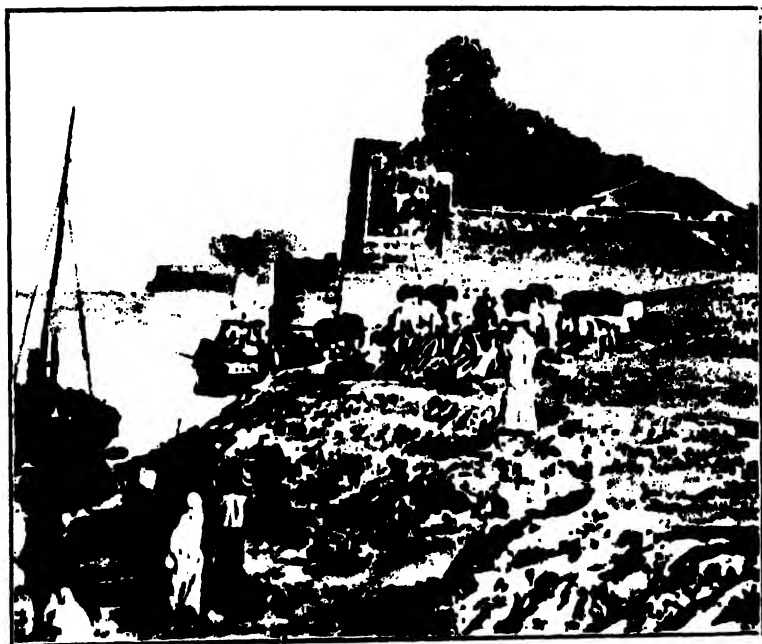
AN article in No. 3, Vol. II, of **BENGAL: PAST AND PRESENT** by Lieutenant-Colonel Crawford, entitled "Some Notes on Monghyr," mentions (page 300), among other objects of interest in Monghyr, the tomb of the Poet Ashraf. In "The Student's Geography of India," by Dr. George Smith, C.I.E., published by John Murray in 1882, this tomb is also mentioned as one of the principal objects of interest in Monghyr; indeed, it is the only place, except the Fort, which is mentioned at all.

When the Viceroy, Lord Curzon, visited Monghyr in 1902, he expressed a desire to see this tomb, and a hurried search was made for it, unfortunately without success, for no one in Monghyr, European or native, had ever heard of Ashraf, much less knew where he was buried. Had they only known it, the tomb was exactly in front of the place where the *Rhetas*, with the Viceroy on board, was anchored; and the tomb was well within his sight the whole time he was there.

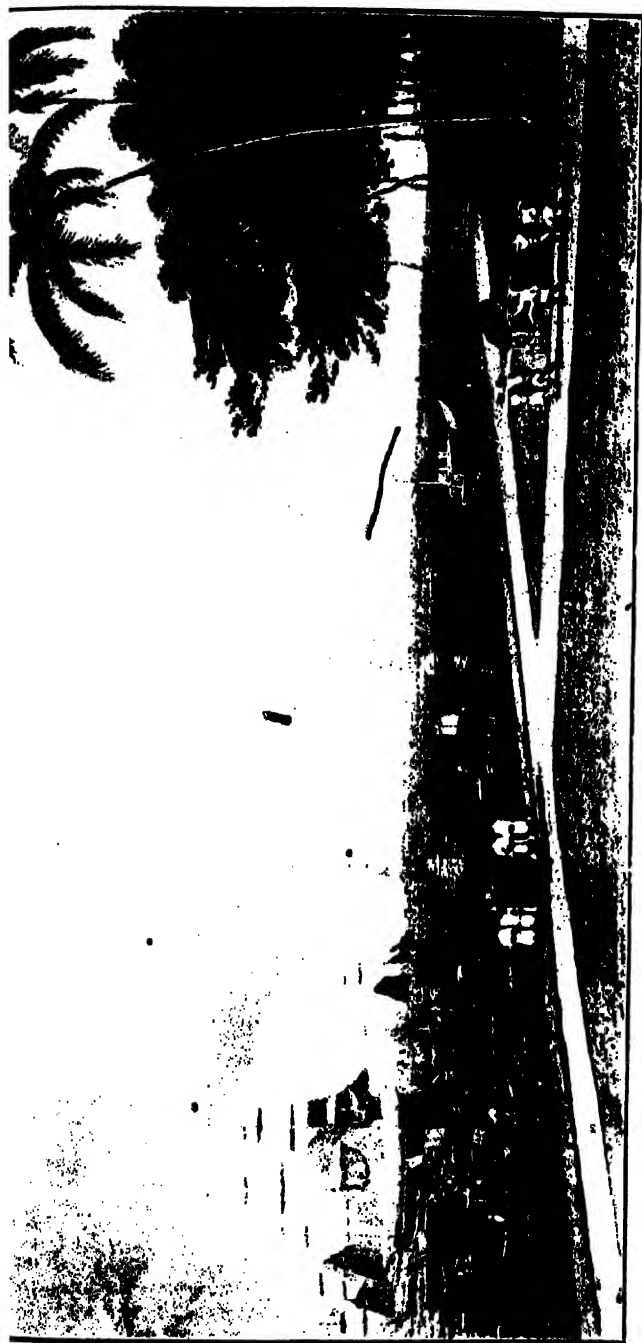
After a good deal of trouble, I was fortunate enough to succeed in tracing the tomb. The late Major Moir, I.M.S., advised me to apply to Colonel G. S. Ranking, I.M.S., then Secretary to the Board of Examiners in Calcutta and a well-known Arabic and Persian scholar, for information about Ashraf, and Colonel Ranking was kind enough to give me the following information, with the help of which I succeeded in tracing the whereabouts of the tomb.

Ashraf was the poetical *nom-de-plume* of Mullah Muhammad Salyad, the son of Muhammad Salih Mazindarani (*i.e.*, coming from Mazindaran, on the Caspian Sea). He came to India during the reign of Aurangzeb and was employed as tutor to Zibannissa Begum, daughter of the Padshah, and herself a poetess of no mean renown. In 1672 he obtained leave of absence and went to Ispahan, then the capital of Persia. A few years later he came back to India and was employed by Shahzada Azim-as-shan, Viceroy of Bengal, the second son of Shah Alam, eldest son of Aurangzeb. In his old age he determined to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca, but did not live to carry out his intention, and died at Monghyr in the year 1704.

Ashraf was the author of a *Masnawi* called "Maden Taif," also of a commentary on the *Kafiyat* and of a *Diwan*. His complete poetical works are enumerated among the Oudh MSS. ("Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Hindustani MSS. in the libraries of the King of Oudh," Edited by Assistant-Surgeon Aloys Sprenger, Calcutta. Baptist Mission Press, 1854.)



WESTERN BASTION OF MONGHYR F
Scandola Point seen in the distance



VIEW OF CALUTTA,
FROM GARDEN BEACH, 1797.

In Monghyr lives an old Musalman gentleman called Shah Fidah Ali, who keeps records of all the Musalman burials in the locality. He is usually to be found at the tomb of Pir Nafa, or Shah Nafa, near the west gate of the Fort. He had never heard of Ashraf, but when the name of Mulla Muhammad Saiyad was mentioned, he knew at once who was meant, and was able to point out the grave from the records in his keeping.

Ashraf's tomb is situated in the bastion at the western end of the riverside of Monghyr Fort; a high bastion, on the top of which may be seen a tomb. The lower part of the building now serves the undignified use of a kitchen. The actual burial-place, presumably, would be underground, below the room which is now a kitchen. No slab nor tablet marks the last resting-place of the poet Ashraf, where he lies forgotten by all but nature, when every evening the tomb is bathed in the glory of a sunset which it would be hard to equal in any part of Bengal.

(MRS.) N. C. O'REILLY.

[Lieutenant-Colonel Crawford, in his notes on Monghyr, gives the situation of Ashraf's tomb correctly. But he tells us that it was to Mrs. N. C. O'Reilly that he was indebted for the information. The poet's tomb should certainly be distinguished by a marble slab, with an epitaph both in English and Persian.—ED.]

To accompany the Views of Calcutta from Garden Reach and Old Fort William, Mr. W. Corfields sends the following extracts from a *Picturesque Voyage to India by the way of China*. By Thomas Daniell, R.A., and William Daniell, A.R.A., London, 1810.

VIEW OF CALCUTTA FROM THE (SIC) GARDEN REACH.

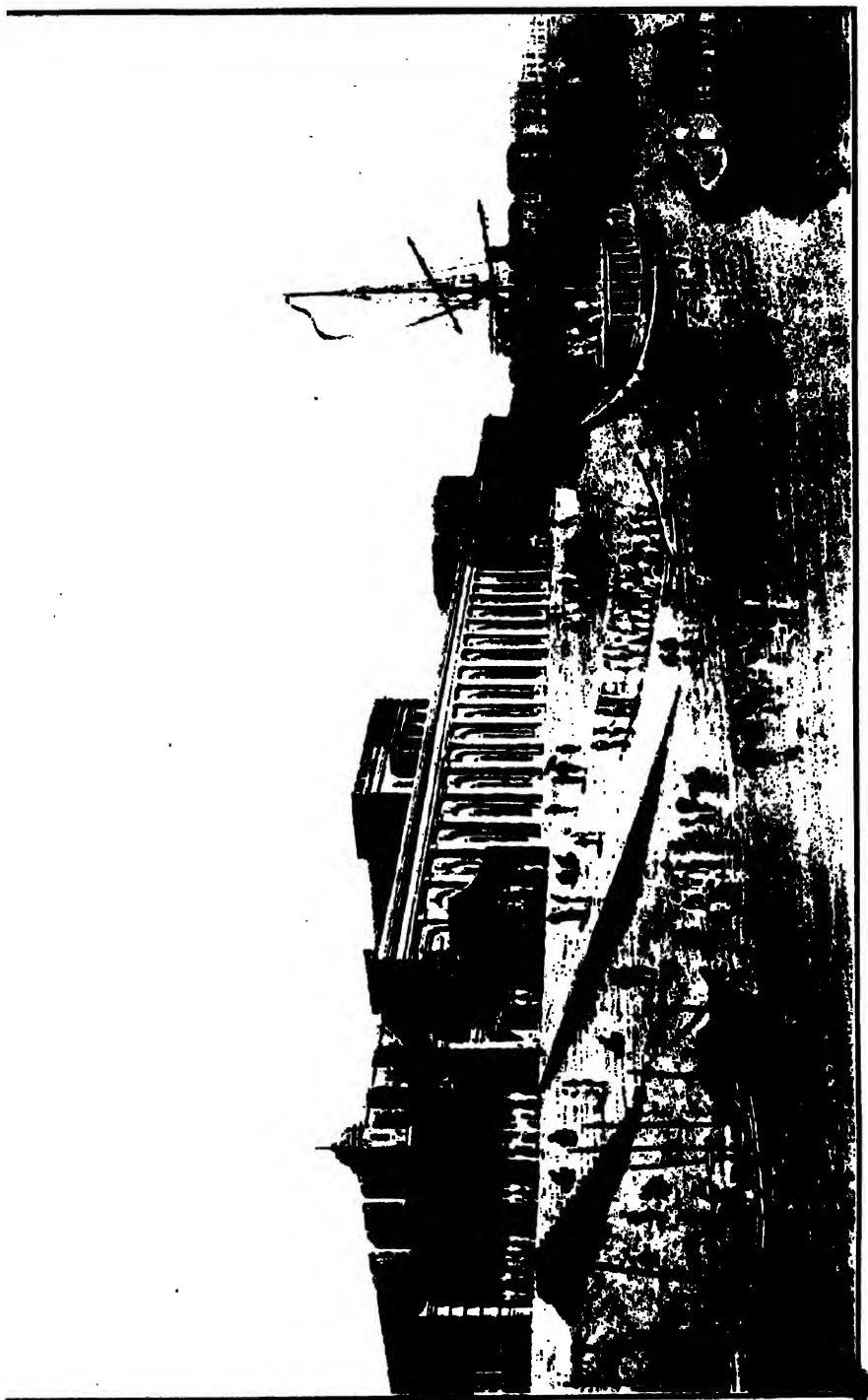
"Calcutta is situated in the part of Bengal called the Sunderbund, a woody peninsula, which from its triangular figure has acquired the appellation of the Delta of the Ganges. It is the Hooghly, the western branch of that magnificent river, which is here visible. A few miles below the town the stream becomes narrower, and at Garden Reach is but twice the breadth of the Thames at London. It is from a situation near this part the present view of Calcutta is taken. On the south side of the river is erected Fort William, part of which appears in the plate. Between the fort and the town is a broad walk called the Esplanade, and frequented by people of all descriptions for air and amusement. Contiguous to the Esplanade is the Government House, a superb edifice, approached by four colossal gates emblazoned with the Britannic arms. To the west of this palace appears the council house; and almost in the same line the new church. The buildings are covered with chunaur, a species of stucco possessing the delicacy and lustre of marble.

The houses at Calcutta are without chimneys, and have universally terrace roofs: those on the esplanade are insulated from each other, and approached by a flight of steps under a projecting portico; each is surrounded by a magnificent colonnade and has the air of a palace. The streets are spacious, and from the diversity of European and oriental manners, present a scene of inexhaustible variety and amusement. The chariot often comes in contact with the palankeen, and the phaeton is seen lightly rolling before the litter-like hackney, a covered cart slowly drawn by bullocks, and appropriated to the service of secluded females. Amidst the promiscuous concourse of people and equipages stalks a tall meagre crane, nicknamed the adjutant, which performs the useful office of scavenger, and is perfectly familiar with the inhabitants. This bird is remarkable for the slowness of its movements, and often stands on some roof, drooping its head with ludicrous solemnity, and looking as abstracted as a fakir at devotions. The river presents a scene of almost equal animation and variety."

OLD FORT GHAT, CALCUTTA.

"Within the walls of this fort is the Black Hole, whose name is eternized by the sufferings of Mr. Holwell and his ill-fated companions in 1756. The low range of buildings attached to the fort consists of warehouses belonging to the East India Company. The ghaut or flight of steps leading from the river is usually the landing-place, where strangers are immediately surrounded by palankeens and a train of natives importuning them to accept their respective services. Near this spot it is a daily practice with men, women and children to bathe promiscuously in the river; and Brahmins are here often seen performing their devotions. Calcutta rose about 120 years ago on the site (sic) of Cossimpoor, an inconsiderable Indian village, and was originally included in the small number of edifices adjoining the fort; but the splendour of the British arms produced a sudden change in its aspect, the bamboo roof suddenly vanished; the marble column took the place of brick walls; princely mansions were erected by private individuals; hospitals were endowed with royal munificence, and colleges with republican liberality. Calcutta is now the metropolis of British India, the seat of a powerful and prosperous empire, which has already communicated to those remote regions a portion of its national law and liberties: and is probably destined to disseminate those arts and sciences which have conferred such honourable distinction on the people of Europe."

THE letterpress at the foot of the view of Esplanade East facing page 383 of the last number is incorrect. The view bears evidence in the character of the uniforms of the soldiers that it was drawn long before the visit of



the present King-Emperor to India. It appeared in Nolan's magnificently illustrated *The British Empire in India from the earliest times to the suppression of the Sepoy Mutiny*, apparently published soon after the close of the Mutiny. The picture may have been drawn shortly after the completion of Government House and its lion gateways in or about 1803. The dome was then fully extant and bore what looks like the statue of Britannia, which was struck by lightning in the early morning of the 30th March 1838 (when Lord Auckland was Governor-General), and afterwards removed in consequence—the dome at the same time being reduced to its present dimensions. The statue is clearly indicated in views of Government House published before 1838—as for instance in Captain Jump's "Views in Calcutta" (1837) and Major J. A. Schalch's "Plan of Calcutta and Environs" (1824-5).

The scene, though overdrawn, has a semblance of accuracy, and is probably one of the many exaggerated views of Calcutta which led to false impressions of the splendour of the place before the days of photography. H. M. Parker in *Chateaux en Espagne* may have had this particular picture in mind when he wrote :—

" The Palace City which he sketch'd
Into vast splendour starting,
Like one by Pirenisi etch'd
Or Babylonian Martin"—

Pirenisi being a celebrated etcher and Martin, the curator of many popular pictures, Biblical and classic, in which tremendous effects were produced by delineation of buildings and natural objects of abnormal size. "The Tower of Babel," "The Cup found in Benjamin's Sack," "God's wrath over Egypt," "The Passage of the Red Sea," "The Walls of Jericho fall down," "The Dedication of the Temple," "Mordecai's Triumph," "Esther's Feast," "Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego," "Belshazzar's Feast," "The Fall of Nineveh," and "The Destruction of Jerusalem," are some of Martin's pictures before me as I write and (like his successor Doré) he certainly reveals himself as an artist of imagination.

May I suggest the early publication of a view of the same Esplanade just before the demolition of Moore and Company's shop a few years ago, with the old "Belati Bungalow" and its little round window at the top (indicated in the view facing page 383) as an interesting memento of late Victorian Calcutta?

DAR.

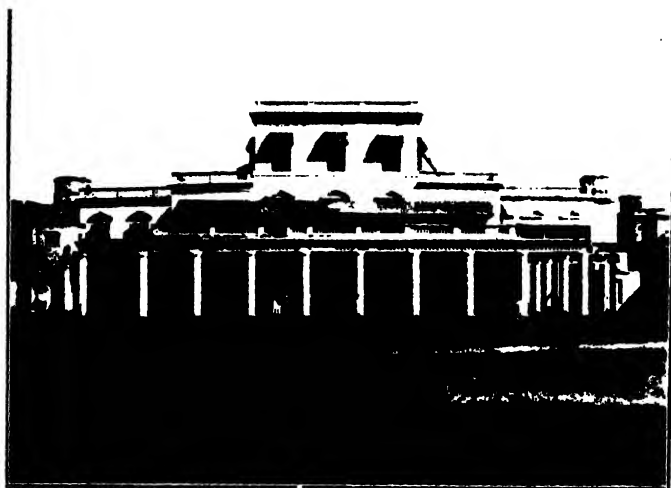
To his note on the Barretto family which appeared at page 366 of our last issue, K. N. D. adds the following with reference to individual members of

that ancient and interesting house :—Captain M. T. Barretto came to India so far back as 1505 in the fleet with Admiral Lopez Soarez. Francesco Barretto the nineteenth Governor of Portuguese India, was a brave and generous man. He died in 1558, and his remains were received at Lisbon by King Sebastian with extraordinary honours. Antonio Moniz Barretto, who died in 1576, was the twenty-sixth Governor of India. There was another dignitary of the name of J. N. Barretto, who had been appointed Patriarch of Æthiopia (the second in succession), but died at Goa about the middle of the sixteenth century, preparatory to his departure for Æthiopia. The above facts will be found in an out-of-the-way book entitled *Historical and Ecclesiastical Sketches of Bengal, from the earliest settlement until the virtual conquest of that country by the English in 1757. Calcutta, 1829.*

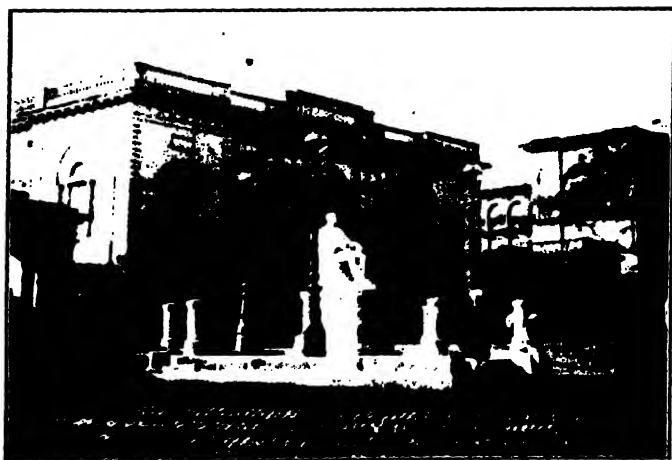
AMONG the illustrations in the present number will be found one of the building for many years past occupied by the Doveton College, but shortly to be vacated by them. A letter over the signature of "Fitzwalter" giving the history of the school-house, once the residence of Sir John Royds (Judge of the Old Supreme Court) was reproduced in our April number.

E. W. M.





THE DOVEYTON COLLEGE.
Photo. by W. E. Strange, Esq



THE STATUE OF SIR ASHLEY EDEN
 ON THE SITE NOW OCCUPIED BY
 THE HOLWELL MEMORIAL.
(Photo. by W. Corfield, Esq.)

Some Transactions of the Calcutta Historical Society.

THE JOB CHARNOCK DINNER.



THE 218th anniversary of Job Charnock's final settlement at Chutanuti on the 24th August 1690 was celebrated by the Society at Peliti's Restaurant, Calcutta, on Monday, the 24th August last (St. Bartholomew's Day), when over seventy members and guests met at dinner and observed the City's birthday in a fashion worthy of an occasion so interesting.

The *menu*, programme of music and toast list were enclosed in an artistic *souvenir* cover bearing the device of the Society and its motto: "Let We Forget," and also facsimile autographs of Job Charnock and Sir R. F. Rampini. The *Nishan* of the Society occupied a prominent position at the south end of the table: after dinner a number of ladies attended to listen to the speeches. Sir R. F. Rampini (in the absence in England of the President, Sir Francis Maclean) occupied the chair. Sir Robert read a telegram from M. Léon Tardivel, the Mayor of Chandernagore, wishing those present a pleasant evening and regretting his inability to be present.

Among those present were H. H. the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Andrew Fraser, with his A.-D.-C., the Maharaja of Burdwan, the Hon. Sir R. F. Rampini, Hon. Mr. Justice H. Holmwood, the Hon. Mr. Justice H. L. Stephen, the Hon. Sir Charles Allen, the Hon. Justice Coxe, Mr. J. G. Cumming, I. C. S., Mr. Oscar T. Barrow, I. C. S., C. I. E., Mr. P. R. Cadell, I. C. S., Mr. Ahmed, I. C. S., Lieutenant-Colonel G. W. Palin, Mr. P. Swan, the Hon. Mr. F. D. Larmour, Mr. L. G. Dunbar, Mr. G. L. Mukerjee, Mr. J. B. Crichton, Mr. E. W. S. Russell, Mr. P. K. Dobbin, Mr. J. H. Cohen Stuart, Mr. J. C. Chowdry, Mr. S. C. Williams, Mr. F. G. Dumayne, Mr. E. Berthoud, Mr. G. B. McNair, the Persian Consul-General, Mr. F. Campbell, Mr. E. W. Madge, Rev. W. K. Firminger, B. D., Mr. Jas. C. Mitchell (Honorary Secretary), the Hon. Mr. F. W. Duke, I.C.S., Mr. G. T. W. Olver, Mr. C. Champkin, Mr. W. Osgerby, Mr. B. Mundy, Mr. R. D. Mehta, C. I. E., Mr. A. E. Silk, Mr. M. N. Moltry, Mr. P. N. Mookerjee, Mr. O. Christ, Mr. W. H. Phelps, Mr. D. Hooper, the Rev. Canon T. E. F. Cole, LL. B., Mr. W. J. Simmons, Mr. Dudley B. Myers, Mr. W. Corfield, Mr. J. de G. Downing, Mr. P. L. Roy, Mr. J. G. Fleming, Lieutenant-Colonel

Buchanan, Mr. Syud Hussain, Mr. J. Goodman, Mr. A. E. Duchesne, Mr. W. Grossman.

After dinner, the Vice-President proposed the usual loyal toasts which were duly honoured. The next toast to these was to the pious memory of Job Charnock, and was proposed by

THE REV. W. K. FIRMINGER.

When a few minutes have passed by, it will be my privilege to ask you to rise and drink, in solemn silence, to the memory of the man who, after many years of faithful and fruitful service, in which he had been twice unjustly superseded, wearied often and exasperated by the long delays and deaf ears of unintelligent and frequently malicious superiors, weakened by constant fevers, exiled for long periods from the ministrations of the Church (which in his rough unemotional way he loved), tracked down by those animosities which in the midst of a mean, back-biting and venial throng, it is the highest honour to a ruler to court and challenge fearlessly,—after many a hardship and many an adventure—on a forlorn Sunday afternoon in the rains, this day two hundred and eighteen years ago, landed at Chutanuti, and there (if tradition may be followed) under a spreading *neem* tree, smoked the pipe of peace, and dreamed the dream of which this Capital City of India is the lasting, though ever changeful, embodiment.

The Calcutta Historical Society has every reason to congratulate itself on our present gathering. We are proud to have with us to-night both the ruler of this province (H. H. Sir Andrew Fraser), and the administrator of our civic affairs (Sir Charles Allen). These gentlemen may, both of them, claim, by right of apostolic success and succession, to rule us from Job Charnock's chair. If old Job, like another Rip Van Winkle, could after a slumber of more than two centuries, return and take his place here at our board, we can imagine how interested he would be to meet and converse with a Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal of the Twentieth Century. We might well imagine too how old Job's interest would turn into amazement, when His Worship, Job Charnock, found that His Honor, Sir A. Fraser, was totally unconcerned in such matters as the saltpetre at Pattana, the amberty calicoes of Lachowar, the silken quilts of Satgaon, and that the precise difference between a "rasay" and a "zeffercany" is not now-a-days a subject of conversation at Belvedere. He would have some strange questions, no doubt, to ask of our friend the Senior Presidency Chaplain. Our friend, Canon Cole, would be able to tell him that the Mausoleum wherein rest the mortal remains of Job himself and of two of his daughters has been well cared for and duly honoured by each successive generation. He would hear with satisfaction that the portrait of his old friend, the "busy politic *padre*" and future Bishop of St. David's and Meath, is still hanging on the walls of the Vestry-room of St. John's Church. But, I imagine, he would smile a smile of pained amazement, and perhaps even of mistrust, when Canon Cole informed him that he (Canon Cole) had no particular interest in copper, sugar, or betel nut, and that when, in March next, after nearly a quarter of a century of life in India, he would leave Bengal, he would do so without having acquired a private fortune of his own.

Gentlemen, the toast to which I claim your attention is to the *pious* memory of the Founder of our City. We may congratulate ourselves on the fact that, after the work of the late Dr. C. R. Wilson, the adjective *pious*, in connection with this memory in particular strikes no wrong note. The memory of our Founder has been rescued from that murky mist of *banal* but obstinate myths by which it has been too long obscured. I take it that, when proposing a toast to the memory of the living-departed— for unto God all live—we use the

word "pious" in its classical sense as an equivalent for "dutiful." Aeneas was *pious*, because from the blazing streets of sacked and fallen Troy he bore away on his shoulders his ancient father : and the commemoration of our Founder is, in the same sense, an act of piety, since it well becomes the generation which inherits the fruits of Charnock's sufferings and endurance, to "praise great men and the fathers that begat us." It is no part of our duty either to be blind to the defects in a character, which was certainly not beyond reproach, or to praise where truth calls for censure ; yet it is, in the strictest sense of language, an act of *piety* to do homage to all that was unselfish, faithful, hopeful, and brave in the man who chose for us the cradle of our Indian Empire. Sir Henry Yule has said "we cannot claim a high character for Charnock," but perhaps the truth has been best expressed, once and for all, by the great Christian scholar, whose name I have already mentioned, and whose words I will venture to quote :

"Charnock possessed the one rare but absolutely needful virtue of disinterested honesty, a virtue which must have been at this time difficult to retain; a virtue which must have raised up for him scores of secret enemies ; a virtue which makes us slow to believe evil of one, who in spite of all petty detraction, will always occupy a place among those who have the sovereign honour of being founders of states or commonwealth. Coarse and sinful he may well have been, for he seems to have been imperfectly educated, and he passed an unprecedented length of years in Indian service. But for my part I prefer to forget the minor blemishes and to remember only his resolute determination, his clear-sighted wisdom, his honest self-devotion, and leave him to sleep on in the heart of the city which he founded, looking for his blessed resurrection and the coming of Him by whom alone he ought to be judged."

Gentlemen, I venture to think that this attitude to Charnock's memory will commend itself to your judgment. I will say more. I venture to express my conviction that the further we probe into the archives of the past, the more thoroughly we purge away the stains of interested calumny, and rid ourselves of the worthless tittle-tattle (miscalled tradition), we shall be rewarded by the real vision of our Civic Founder—a man with a mighty firmness of purpose, sorrowed but never disheartened by being either misunderstood or treated with injustice, capable of setting aside all private grievances and animosities, preferring his personal enemies to his friends when the affairs of state called for the sacrifice, and always more anxious to be on the side of the right than to have the right on his own side. I venture to predict that the voice of history will proclaim Charnock no unworthy predecessor to that great man, who in the darkest days which ever befel the fortunes of England beyond the seas, against the folly which cost us our political unity with America, gave to our race, nay to civilisation and humanity, the full fraught possibilities of the British Raj in India. It was in 1773, that Warren Hastings wrote of Calcutta: "I do not despair of seeing it the first place in Asia, if I live, and am supported for a few years longer."

For, Gentlemen, it is the verdict of those who have studied the records and familiarised themselves with all the circumstances of Charnock's choice of Chutanuti, that Job acted, not at haphazard, but that he made his decision deliberately, wisely, and well. You will remember the maxim which was prescribed for the contributors to the *Dictionary of National Biography*—"No flowers: by request." This evening (although I am myself about to transgress) we might perhaps say "No Rudyard Kipling by command." After all that has been written on the subject, there is no call for me to expose the fallacy of those familiar lines :

One or two hunched years ago the trader came meek and tame,
Where his timid foot first halted there he stayed,
Till mere trade
Grew to empire, and he sent his armies forth. South and North

Till the country from Peshawar to Ceylon was his own
 Thus the mid-day halt of Charnock—more's the pity
 Grew a city
 So it spread

Chance-directed, chance-erected, laid and built, on the silt.

There may be in these lines a truth not wholly unserviceable to those who make it their duty to hasten schemes of improvement, but the general theory of the lines is now, we may be thankful, a recognised fallacy.

I have alluded to the local myths about Charnock. The story of the rescue of the Hindu widow from *Sati*, I am afraid, is far too good capital for the poets to part with. "Dāk," in this day's *Englishman*, has further decorated the topic which Dr. Norman Chevers graced in the alleged epitaph on the tombstone of Josiah Townsend. If the lady stood in need of rescue, let us hope that it was Job who did the deed; but I am afraid there are two quite contradictory versions of the story of how Charnock came by his Indian bride. Alexander Hamilton (a gentleman who by the way never said a good word for anyone if he could help it, and had a most powerful treasury of scandal at his command) tells the *Sati* story: Hedges tells us a very different tale. Both these gentlemen disliked Charnock. But, on the other hand, it is interesting and perhaps significant that in the baptismal registers at Madras, where the Baptism of Job's three daughters is recorded, the mother's name, contrary to custom, is not recorded.

It may be the fact that Charnock's closing years were not in accord with the strenuous manhood he had evinced in the days before he made his final halt at Chutanuti. When Sir John Goldsborough arrived, he found sad tales afloat about the late Chief's dissipated habits and laxity, and it was not foreign to Sir John's purpose to give those tales somewhat more than their full credit. But I venture to think that the man's whole career entitles us to be a little deaf to the gossip of interested detractors: and I venture to think that you will one and all agree with me that if handwriting is any indication of personal character, the firm clear signature of Job Charnock, which you have reproduced on your *menus*, in itself bears testimony to the clean mind of the man who penned it. It is worthy of the man, who led his little army out of Hijili, colours flying and drums beating, betwixt the ranks of an overwhelming and astounded enemy.

Disinterestedness and fidelity are the two great virtues for which we praise this great man who begat us. In Calcutta of to-day we are inclined to think highly of anyone who, during long years of arduous and responsible service, never once has failed to secure the warm approval of his employers. Such a man was Job Charnock. On one occasion, his masters in England write: "The experience we have of Mr. Charnock for 34 years past, and finding all that hate us to be enemies to him, having wrought such a confidence in our minds concerning him that we shall not, upon any ordinary suggestions against him, change our ancient and constant opinion of his fidelity to our interest." It would be easy to quote passage after passage from the old records to show that, despite all the malicious depreciations of the great agent sent home from Madras and elsewhere, the Company at home never swerved in their sense of Job's value. Well, then, has Sir W. Hunter said: "Charnock now stands forth in the manuscript records as a block of rough British manhood. Not a beautiful person perhaps, for the founders of England's greatness were not such as wear soft raiment and dwell in king's houses; but a man who had a great and a hard task to do, and who did it—with small thought of self, and with a resolute courage, which no danger could daunt nor any difficulties turn aside. The masters who treated him so grudgingly knew his worth. He was in his lifetime 'honest Mr. Charnock,' no 'prowler for himself beyond what was just and modest.'"

Gentlemen, the place of our Founder's burial is in the heart of our city. In the charity which thinketh no evil, we honour that mausoleum as the resting place of one whose memory, obscured by the calumnies of his foes and the foolish gossip of hack-guide writers, stands out now as a possession to be treasured by each generation of Calcutta men in its turn. His own children have placed on its walls the word "blessed Charnock," and this perhaps would have been the testimony his heart would have desired: "thy children shall rise up and call thee blessed."

THE HON. MR. F. D. LARMOUR.

The Hon'ble Mr. F. Larmour next proposed the toast of the Calcutta Historical Society. He said that when it was decided to do a thing, three reasons were generally assigned, and the present occasion proved no exception to the rule, for he had been told that there were three reasons for his proposing this toast. Firstly, because he was not a member of the Society, which was counted to him for righteousness, for had he been a member he would not then be addressing the Society; secondly, because he had once told a member that he had arrived in Calcutta in the early fifties and was therefore one of the "oldest residents" and, thirdly, because he knew little about historical research and any mistakes he might make would therefore be forgiven. Only a short time ago he was talking to a new arrival in the country and was expounding the glorious past, the condition of our roads before the advent of our City Fathers, how Bow Bazar and Bentinck Street used to be the most favoured and fashionable parts of the city, how the very house now occupied by the Commissioner of Police was the office and residence of one of the greatest commercial houses in India, and how the Government of India itself is said to have had its seat in the premises now occupied by Messrs. Llewellyn & Co. in Cossitollah, now Bentinck Street, whilst Alipore and Ballygunge were undesirable, unhealthy malaria-stricken distant suburbs; how people went out to dine at 6 o'clock in palkees accompanied by their choobdars, khitmutgars, hookahbadars and punkahwallahs, the last armed with huge palm leaf punkahs. Finding a ready listener, he became garrulous and reminiscent, and spoke of the imported ice at 8 annas a pound, of soda-water at Rs. 3 a dozen and Exshaw No. 1 at Rs. 6 a bottle; he even told of the time when there was no water laid on in pipes and all the drinking water was brought from the "Lal Digbee" tank. This was more than his listener could take in, and he burst out saying, "All the rest I can believe, but if you expect me to believe that any one ever drank water from the Dalhousie Square tank and survived to tell the tale, you trespass too far on my credulity, good bye." Mr. Larmour then recalled a well-known society, in fiction, in which one "Bill Stumps and his mark" played an important part, and went on to say that he also had discovered an important poem describing kings that had reigned in Bengal, of whom many are now seldom heard of. Mr. Larmour did not know if the original poem was in Sanskrit or English, but as he had seen it in the *Indian Charivari Xmas Annual* of 1876 he concluded it must have been in English. It was called "Indian Heroes" and he read a few amusing extracts from the poem. Mr. Larmour then said: Turning to the Calcutta Historical Society itself, I think, gentlemen, I can offer you my sincere congratulations on the success that has attended your efforts. A little more than twelve months ago you started with only 75 members and I see from your annual report that on the 31st December last, you had no less than 205 members; at this rate of progression you will soon have everyone on your list and there will be no one left to enroll; during the period covered by your report you had only three resignations but you lost one of your most valued members by death, I refer to the late Maharaja Sir Jotindro Mohun Tagore. I am at one with your committee in suggesting that the sympathies of the Indian nobility and gentry

should be enlisted in your society, and I feel certain when your objects are more generally known you will have no difficulty in enrolling their names on your list. You have called yourselves the "Historical Society of Calcutta," which I consider very modest, for I see from your report that you do not confine yourself to Calcutta, but extend your operations to distant portions of Bengal; for besides your excursions to Achipore, Serampore, Hughli, and Chinsurah you have gone as far afield as Plassey, Berhampore and Cossimbazaar. No one who has seen the last number of your journal, in which that excursion is dealt with, could have failed to be interested; it still lies on my table and has often enabled me to spend a pleasant half hour amongst your members in thought if not in body. I think, gentlemen, your journal should be and will be one of the chief features of your Society and I would urge on you to issue it as often as possible. The editorship is entrusted to one who takes an intense interest in his work, and if I know the man as well as I think I do, we may rely on having most interesting reading. Mr. Firminger is well known as one of the best literary ferrets in the country and the success of a journal entrusted to him is already assured. There is one more point only on which I would like to say a few words, that is the Preservation of Monuments is a most laudable object. It is no longer possible for us to excavate fresh caves of Elephanta or Ellora; we can no longer use public funds to build a Taj or Kutub Minar; we cannot vie with the glorious temples of Saranath or Madura to say nothing of the glorious buildings in Delhi and Agra, and many others that abound all over the country. To preserve these great monuments and many smaller ones, I think your Society may safely approach the Government; they teem with interest and their preservation will, so long as they last, help to keep alive the history of this country.

THE HON. MR. JUSTICE STEPHEN.

There is one duty of a pleasing kind which I have to perform before proceeding to any other task and that is (whether or no I am in order I don't care in the least) to propose that Mr. Larmour be elected a member of the Calcutta Historical Society. I have been chosen for the task of replying to this toast I presume because I have the peculiar good fortune of being your Vice-President elect. When many years ago certain enthusiastic but misguided people attempted to teach me a certain quantity of history, it was thrust upon me that it was absolutely necessary that history must be dull, or else it must be inaccurate. I understand that since that time further research has thrown some doubt upon that proposition. But how far that may actually be true I am not even in a position to guess and I hope that the Society will take some steps to investigate the matter. It is a question which might be referred to a small committee consisting of two very eminent journalists who are members of the Society. Of course we would have at the beginning to present them with one very obvious and striking fact. Mr. Firminger is neither dull nor inaccurate: he is, of course, thoroughly exceptional, and cannot be quoted in support of any particular rule. We all know that the possession of our Editor by the Society is really one chief claim, at all events, to posthumous fame, and when we pass from our brief and fleeting existence as historians to join the great majority about whom history is silent, our epoch such as it is, will no doubt be known as the Firminger epoch. Other gentlemen there are who will remain well known as public minded governors and citizens of Calcutta. One there is in particular whom I will mention and he is Sir Charles Allen. I mention him particularly because I have reason to believe that he has exerted his well deserved and personal influence in order to escape making a speech, but as the Historical Society we owe him a very great deal, not only for what he has actually done, but for what he has consistently attempted. Had he been able to carry out

his duties as Lord Mayor of Calcutta, unhampered by any extraneous circumstances, without the exigencies of finance, unmindful of the local Government and his Municipal colleagues, and regardless both of the letter and the spirit of the law—then I am sure he would no doubt have made ninety-nine hundredths of the Calcutta we know a matter of history. We should have had the spirit of Mr. Firminger hovering over a great mass of ruins. It is ruins that Calcutta wants for the Historical Society to dwell upon. Sir Charles Allen is just the man to make them and very much more too. For myself, I cannot claim any great allegiance to the charge of mere learning and knowledge, but this I feel—and I know in this I shall have the sympathy of my fellow members—that we all wish to realise the fact that our predecessors were not mere names in a story but that they were men with wishes, with feelings, and with ambitions like ourselves. We also wish that our successors should have some of the same kind of feeling for them that we have ourselves. As far as Calcutta is concerned our chief wish is that our successors may prove as worthy of the position we hope they will hold as our predecessors were worthy of their's.

THE HON. MR. JUSTICE HOLMWOOD.

It is my pleasing duty to propose the next toast which is the health of the Patrons of the Calcutta Historical Society. According to a somewhat satirical letter which appeared in the newspapers the other day, we are all of us charged with patronizing history from a lofty and exalted platform where our deliberations are said to have a more gastronomic than scientific and practical interest. Those who see us to-night might be misled into endorsing this libel. But I think, gentlemen, you will agree with me that the investigation of distant and half forgotten fields of history naturally produces a physical as well as an intellectual hunger, and those who have sent our pioneers, many of them ladies, going long distances in trains, in boats, and even on elephants, as well as walking miles in the sun will readily admit that their attitude was more practical than patronizing, and that they fully earned the excellent breakfasts and tiffins which our friends, Mr. James Luke and Mr. Firminger have provided for them. But our actual patrons are not those who patronize history but they are among those who make history. We have our present Viceroy and Governor-General, Lord Minto, and our late Viceroy, Lord Curzon, than whom no one is more heart and soul in sympathy with the objects of our Society. Then we have our Lieutenant-Governor, whom we all greatly rejoice to see amongst us to-night, and I shall have to call upon him for a few words in answer to this toast—words which I know will be eloquent as well as sympathetic as Sir Andrew Fraser's words always are.

Our Chief Justice, Sir Francis Maclean, will, by his commanding presence, fill a very large niche in the history of Calcutta and in addition to being a Patron he is also the able and energetic President of this Society. Lord Avebury, who is better known to most of us as Sir John Lubbock, has devoted as much of his great intellect to the elucidation of the history of man as he has to that of bees, which is saying a good deal. Lord Reay, whom you knew as a former Governor of Bombay, has, since his return to England, been foremost in his support of all Societies that have for their object the advancement of Indian interests. And before leaving our Patrons in England I would ask you to do especial honour to the name of that "fine old English gentleman," Doctor Henry Elmsley Busteed, the fourth edition of whose book on Calcutta is now on its way to us. Though he has retired for, I believe, more than twenty years he has never lost his deep interest in Calcutta and I think I may say, with all respect to our other local historians, that Dr. Busteed's book will always be the most valuable as it is the most popular history of this city.

As is most fitting in a city whose history has been largely elucidated and preserved by the untiring and too often insufficiently acknowledged labours of her clergy, the names of the Metropolitan in India, who presides over the diocese of Calcutta, and of the learned Archbishop of the Roman Catholic Church, appear among our most valued Patrons.

While of distinguished Indian noblemen we have the Maharajah of Cooch Behar, the Maharajah of Durbhanga, the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad, who is descended from a line of Mohamedan rulers, whose history is intimately bound up with that of Calcutta not always to the gratification of the inhabitants of the latter city, and last but not least I would mention the Maharaj Adhiraj Bejoy Chand Mahatab Bahadur of Burdwan, whose name I have reserved to the end; firstly, because you cannot have failed to notice him if he is anywhere about, for he will require a larger niche in history than even our President, a niche which we are all convinced from his early promise he will most worthily fill, and secondly because I have been asked to associate his name with this toast and to call upon him for a reply which I have the greatest pleasure in doing.

H. H. THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR.

His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor said: I feel myself, I was going to say, rather in a mess, but that may perhaps be regarded as hardly appropriate on an occasion like this, but what I mean is rather in a maze. I don't precisely understand the position. In accordance with a well known custom in Calcutta—not long before coming to this dinner—I received a friendly and a kindly letter asking me for a copy of my speech. I wrote to my friend that I was glad to be able to inform him that I had an evening of ease and want of care before me. I had no idea I would be called upon to make a speech at all. When I came here I found that the reply to the toast of the health of the Patrons of the Society was to be made by the Maharaj Adiraj of Burdwan, I am stepping into his place and it is not at all a position that I want to occupy. I don't precisely know why I should be where the Maharaj Adhiraj of Burdwan ought to be, and I am glad to know that it is only temporarily that I occupy his place. He is to follow me. Then, after the toast has been proposed, I am told we are to hear the song of a "Fine Old English gentleman" and to have our attention drawn by that song to the venerable Dr. Busted. It seems as if all the world be sad and weary, everywhere I roam. I find myself next to my friend, Mr. Firminger, who started off his most delightful speech with thoughts of how like I am to Job Charnock—a man who, worn out with his work, weary of the criticisms of his superiors, throws himself down under a *neem* tree. How fully can I enter into Job Charnock's feelings. Then he goes on ruthlessly to separate me altogether from Job Charnock. He mentions every subject of knowledge worth knowing and states that Charnock knew them all and that the present Lieutenant-Governor knows none of them. Then he goes on to tell me that there is an intimate connection between Charnock and me after all because I sit in this chair or rather I occupy half of it along with a man, who, I am perfectly prepared to say, is ready to dispute the larger half. Altogether I am in a state of confusion as to where I stand. I have listened with the greatest delight and attention to the speeches made by the members of the Historical Society—I include the member just elected, Mr. Larmour; I have felt how thorough their knowledge is and have become more and more humble; and I have tried to make my ears as large as I can, and the rest of my body as small as I can so that I may hear all that has been said. And after I have got to the very depth of my humility I am proposed as a Patron of the Society. The position is too awful for me to deal with, and I am glad it is left to my stalwart friend, the Maharaj Adhiraj of Burdwan to reply. There is one thing I would like to say about the Society. I have watched, with the greatest interest—the enthusiasm

of the Society. It has been one of the best things we have seen how this Society is getting on, how thoroughly alive the members have been, how some of the members have worked their very best, and what a splendid magazine Mr. Firminger has produced. I am perfectly sure that those who have had anything to do with the starting of the Society have good reason to be proud of this little piece of work. I thank you heartily, gentlemen, for the manner in which this toast has been received. I thank you on behalf of your Patrons for the manner in which you have received their names. I thank you especially for the kindly feeling shown in receiving my name. I thank you again, after an illness, for your kindly sympathy which I have felt very much, and for the way you have welcomed me back. I can assure you it is a very great pleasure that I am so thoroughly recovered as to be able to be present with you this evening. I should have deeply regretted it if I had been absent from this the first—I was going to say historical—dinner of the Calcutta Historical Society.

THE MAHARAJA OF BURDWAN.

When I received an invitation for this festive dinner, I did not realise at the time that I was to be called upon to make a speech on behalf of the Patrons of this Society. However, I am thankful to our esteemed friend, the Lieutenant-Governor, for having thanked you all for the very kind manner in which you have drunk the health of the Patrons of the Society. This Society has a great future before it. With the long excursions that it undertakes, not only does it do work of research, not only does it do the work of instruction, but it also cements the *entente cordiale* between those of the land and those who have chosen India as their adopted land, a perfect good feeling which is so very necessary at all times and especially now. The duties of the Patrons of this Society are very grave and responsible ones, for as my friend, Mr. Justice Holmwood, said "we are called to be makers of history." India is a land of history and tradition and I trust that, in years to come, when this Historical Society of Calcutta has spread itself and become the Historical Society of India, with branches all over India, that it will be making history that those who come after us may be still proud of. I trust that as a patron of this Society, I shall be able to further the interests of this most interesting Society in a way that will be not only valuable to the Society, but also instructive to myself. I was glad to find my friend, Mr. Justice Holmwood, make a reference to a man who has left the shores of India, but who has the interests of India close to his heart. In the words of Kipling "he may have hustled the East," but I think the Historical Society will, when they go on with their share of the work, find they owe a great deal to Lord Curzon. I don't think any Viceroy has ever taken such an interest in the beautiful monuments which India possesses, and I trust that every member of this Society will follow his example and show a lively interest in the ancient monuments of India. I cannot help joining the chorus of approval about the excellent magazine that this Society is bringing out, and I am sure that, in the hands of its present Editor, it will go on becoming more and more interesting to those that take any true interest in historical associations. In conclusion, I thank you all on behalf of my humble self, as well as the other Patrons of the Society, for having drunk our health so enthusiastically.

THE REV. CANON T. E. F. COLE.

It is my proud privilege that the "most grave, reverend and potent signors" of this learned Society have entrusted me with the toast of our Vice-President, the Hon'ble Chief Justice Rampini, who is about to leave for ever this great "City of the plain."

I may mention, as one excuse for efficiency in carrying out my task, that there is an understanding between the Vice-President and myself that what I say shall be brief, sweet, not hydraulic as to his departure, nor an X-raying of his virtues. Being subjected to such limitations, and with a further handicap which a humble individual feels through being connected even for an occasion with august persons and things, I feel like the cobbler at the political discussion. "This 'ere demonstration is a two-edged sword; if we play with it we shall have our fingers burnt." The safest thing is to allow one's remarks to be as slender and unanalytical, as the conversation between the two friends who recongized each other half-way across the English Channel:—"Hallo, old man, going across?" "Yes, I think so, old chap." It did very well for the occasion!

Gentlemen,—This erudite Society seemed to spring like a Minerva fully equipped and famous from the brain of that Jupiter, Mr. Firminger, whose head seems to seethe with Leagues, Societies and other ready-made Minervas. But even youthful Minerva requires a chaperone; and our distinguished Vice-President, by his generosity and genial kindness, by his personal acquaintance with the districts of Bengal and the deep respect and affection in which he is held there, by his devotion to the Society's mission to demonstrate the interests of life, delighting the mind by its provision of literature, or recreation and educative tours, has earned the sincere thanks of this Society and the public for its not having resulted in the mere "sailing of a little paper boat" which some predicted, but for the success which has attended its operations and guarantees for it a valuable future. The Society must always remember the Hon'ble Chief Justice Rampini's name with "Maxima Reverentia."

Gentlemen,—The near approach of our honoured Vice-President's departure makes some of us elder ones reflect *Eheu! fugaces, posthume, posthume, labuntur anni!* does it not? But when we remember the land to which he is going we have this consolation, in the words of a Wiltshire epitaph:

"Her shall not return to we,
"But us do hope to go to she!"

No doubt some street or square of Calcutta will be honoured hereafter with our Vice-President's name; but one rests assured that no such incident in connection with it can take place as that of the two cockneys in a continental hotel where the waiter recommended the Chianti, and one replied that he wished to drink Boticelli; and on the disappearance of Alphonse, the other reproached his friend thus: "You owl, Boticelli is not a wine, but a cheese."

But before wishing our Vice-President adieu, I know that he will not think unkindly of me for repeating an old and, I hope, forgivable joke. I deferentially assure him that it is solely *propter sententiam postprandialem* and with no reflection intended on his honoured profession; and passable, I acknowledge, only at a late stage of this memorable wake. I expect him to have a dig at me in return with some similar pleasantry. It has been said that a lawyer goes into the profession to get on; he goes on with it to get honour, and he goes out of it to get honest. Our Vice-President has reached the comparative degree safely, on which we offer him our heartfelt and respectful congratulations; he has "carried his bat" with dignity and success and is still "not out;" everyone glad about his knighthood. We are privileged to-night to offer him respectfully our best wishes for the long enjoyment of that superlative degree of happiness, which he has won too now. Freed from professional responsibility we trust that he will enjoy, with his loved ones for many a year, the humour of things, the joys of rose-growing, excellence at that "game of King's croquet," to which he

is addicted already, the acquisition, if he so chooses, of delightful, if useless, knowledge, pleasure in objects of art, above all the cultivation, more than ever, of Things Divine, amid the retired contemplative lawns and glades and panelled halls of his fatherland.

THE HON. SIR ROBERT FULTON RAMPINI.

I assure you I greatly appreciate the honour paid me to-night in drinking my health, and I am grateful to Canon Cole for the kind terms in which he has proposed it. Canon Cole has indulged in some good-natured pleasantries at the expense of my name and my profession. This is not surprising. It is quite natural, for we all know, and rejoice to know, that our friend Canon Cole is a "merry old soul." If he has not already called for his "pipe" he will do so presently. His "bowl" I see he has before him, and I hope he is enjoying himself. As for his "fiddlers three," Mr. Lobo has provided more than that number. But I must say a word in defence of my profession, which I venture to think has advantages over even that high vocation to which Canon Cole has been called. For, if Canon Cole were ever to express a pious prayer that any should be eternally condemned, which, of course, he would never do, there would be no certainty as to whether his wishes were complied with, whereas if I said to a man "You be hanged," the odds are 10 to 1 that he would be. Canon Cole, in his more serious moments, has overwhelmed me with praises for my labours in connection with the Calcutta Historical Society, but I do not feel that I deserve all the kind things which he has said. I assure you it has been a matter of pure unalloyed pleasure to me to act as Vice-President of the Calcutta Historical Society. I make over my office with regret even to the more capable hands of my brother Stephen. I have thoroughly enjoyed all the expeditions in which I have taken part. I leave Calcutta with the greatest regret. It has its disadvantages as a place of residence, among which I would mention its awful heat in the hot weather, its exorbitant and ever-rising house rent, its anarchists with their bombs and threatening letters, and its rapidly increasing number of motor-cars. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, it is yet, in the words of St. Paul "no mean City," full of historical associations, and of charming people—which goes without saying—for it is not the abode of the members of the Calcutta Historical Society? It is a place, too, where if you stay long enough as I have done, almost everyone of note in the world will sooner or later pay you a visit. It is, further, a great centre of commercial activity, where I am told fabulous fortunes are easily made by speculating in coal shares. I first came to Calcutta in 1864, just after the cyclone of October of that year. The city was then in ruins. But the great feature of Calcutta that struck me on my arrival was the never ending noise of the creaking of the wheels of bullock-carts. There was then no bye-law compelling carters to grease the wheels of their carts, and the strident and ear-piercing creaking of the wheels of carts began early in the morning and went on without cessation till night-fall. Then, the streets were crowded with *palanquins*, which in these days were quite as respectable means of conveyance as *tikka* gharies are now. The *palki* bearers lay in wait at the corner of the streets, and literally mobbed and carried off his legs the unwary pedestrian. But the most objectionable feature of Calcutta in these days was the filthy state of the bye-streets. There were then no covered drains, and the state of the bye-streets, even such respectable thoroughfares as Middleton Street, Harrington Street; and Elysium Row, was such that no one could walk on foot in them. Adjutant birds then sat on the tops of the houses in the day time, and they and jackals did the work of scavengers at night. Present residents of Calcutta can have no idea of how much they owe to the Corporation, which has transformed the town into, if not a "City of Palaces," yet a city of clean streets where people can live and breathe and follow their various callings without much discomfort or danger to

their lives. The transformation in the state of the streets of Calcutta that has taken place since 1864 is as great as the improvement in the roads of the Highlands which was effected by the labours of General Wade. You may remember the lines—

“ Had you seen these roads before they were made,
You would lift up your hands and bless General Wade.”

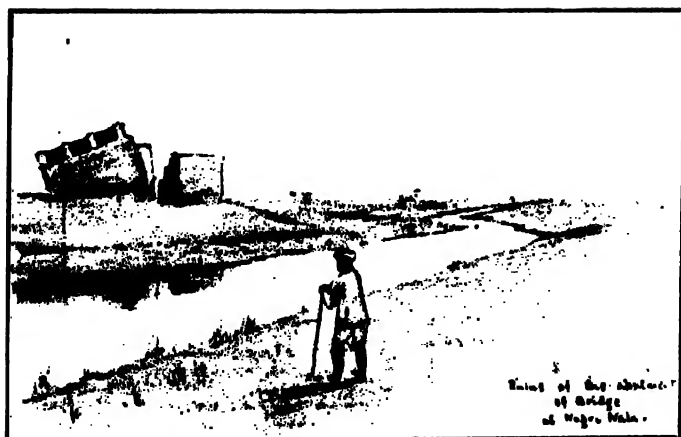
The danger of motor-cars is, however, increasing. I fear the residents of Calcutta may soon be in as perilous a state as the people of London, where I am told, owing to the number of motor-cars and motor 'buses that go rushing madly about, creating havoc wherever they go, people are now divided into two classes—the quick and the dead.

I shall leave Calcutta next Thursday night with a heavy heart. I shall be very sorry to say good-bye to my friends, both European and Indian, particularly to the members of the Calcutta Historical Society in whose company I have spent many pleasant and happy days. I feel sure that next cold weather, when, amid the fogs and cold of my native land, I shall, according to Canon Cole's prediction, be playing “King's Riquet” (I don't know what that is, but I hope it is nothing very bad), I shall envy you your bright sunny days and your glorious atmosphere. I shall envy you those delightful expeditions which you will make personally conducted by Mr. Firminger. I shall be with you in the spirit on these expeditions, and I shall eagerly look for an account of your doings in the most interesting pages of *Bengal: Past and Present*.

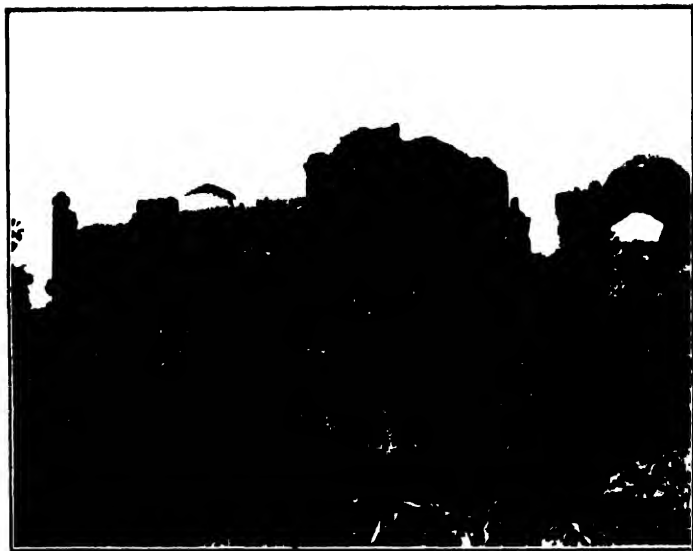




THE MAGISTRATE'S HOUSE AT ARRAH.
(*Photo by E. Brook Fox, Esq.*)



REMAINS OF THE BRIDGE OVER THE NAGRI NALA.
(*Sketch by A. de Cosson, Esq.*)



THE MANGAL HAT MOSQUE.
(Photo by A. de Cosson, Esq.)



MOSQUE AT MANGAL HAT, NEAR RAJMAHAL
(Photo by A. de Cosson, Esq.)

The Secretary's Pages.



THE publication of historical records is, of course, one of the primary objects of the Society. The Executive Committee, by way of experiment, has sanctioned the publication of a Special Memoir on the subject of the Massacre of Patna in 1763. It is much to be hoped that this step will be justified by the support it receives from the members of the Society and that funds will be available for further attempts to place the old records at the disposal of students.

MR. BROOK FOX sends us a photograph of the "little house at Arrah" as it is in the present year of grace. The story of that historic house is too well known to need repetition here.*

Mr. A. de Cosson sends us some interesting views :—

1. A pencil sketch of all that is left of the bridge over Nagrinala about three miles from Arrah—the scene of Captain Dunbar's disaster and death, followed as it was by the heroism which won the V.C. for two Indian Civilians—McDonnell and Ross Mangles.

2. Moti Thanna Waterfall near Sakrigali in the Sonthal Pergannas—Mr. de Cosson writes : " Wm. Hodges painted it between 1778 and 1784 and visited it with Cleveland."

3. Two photographs of the Mosque of Mangal Hat near Rajmahal. " Hodges drew this too, and his letterpress shows that it lodged Adams after the victory of Udwanala. It has been repaired by the Government, and lies on the old 'river road' from Murshidabad to Monghyr and beyond,

* It may however be worth while to record here that Hereward Cranford Wake died on 19th December 1901. A newspaper of the time wrote ; " Mr. Hereward Cranford Wake, whose death is announced in our mail telegram, is best known to fame as ' Wake of Arrah.' Entering the Bengal Civil Service in 1851, he was Collector of Shahabad when the Mutiny broke out. The little billiard-room in the compound of the Judge's house at Arrah, which was so pluckily defended by him and the little band of district officials, is still to be seen. The episode forms one of the most gallant of the many gallant episodes of the Mutiny year, and it will be long before the heroism of Wake and Boyle and Colvin is forgotten. The history of the siege has been described with extraordinary vividness by Sir George Trevelyan in his *Competition-wallah*, but the daily diary written by Wake on the wall 'at any moment in case we should be scragged' was many years ago obliterated by the ruthless whitewash of an ignorant "restorer." It may be found reproduced in full in Sir Monier Williams' *Memorials of Old Haileybury College*. Mr. Wake, who was born in 1828, was created a C.B. for his services and retired on account of ill-health so long ago as 1868."

along which many armies passed besides Adams'. This road is fast disappearing in parts."

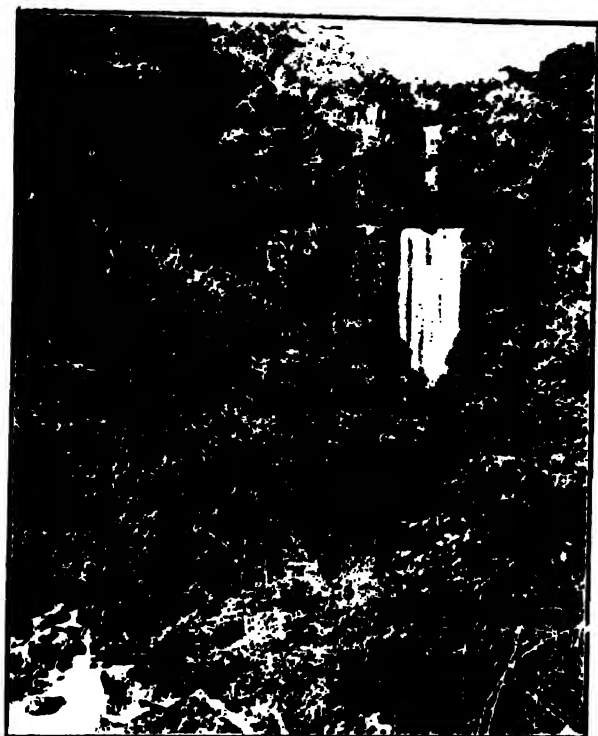
The Society has to express its thanks to Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co. for the coloured reproduction of Daniel's view of Chandpal Ghat in 1797. The large house with towers on the Howrah side of the River was the home of the Royal Military Orphanage before that institution was transferred to Kidderpore. The Society is also indebted to Messrs. Thacker, Spink for the excellent portrait of Surgeon-General H. E. Busteed which decorates the present number.

A FEW copies of Mr. Majumdar's *Musnud of Murshidabad* are still in the hands of the Secretary for sale to members of the Society at the reduced price of Rs. 3-12. The book is full of interesting illustrations, and is the only adequate guide book to the city of which it may be truly said that the British Raj was born there.

VERY many of the members of the Society were unable to avail themselves of the opportunity of visiting Plassey last cold weather. If a party of no less than sixty can be got together, it is proposed that Plassey should be revisited in December or January next. Mr. Firminger is of opinion that it would be best to devote the whole day this time to the inspection of the battlefield and not attempt to add Berhampore to the programme.

ABOUT the same time as the present issue of *Bengal: Past and Present* appears, the reprint of Mrs. Fay's *Original Letters* will make its appearance. As this work is published under the auspices of the C.H.S., it is but natural that I should express the hope that the 500 copies, which have been printed, will find a rapid sale. The publishers are Messrs Thacker, Spink & Co. If this effort justifies itself, the Editor hopes to follow up the publication of Mrs. Fay by a companion volume made up chiefly of the hitherto unpublished letters of one of Mrs. Fay's friends—Captain John O'Donnell of the *Privateer Death or Glory*.





MOTI THANA WATERFALL NEAR SAKRI,
SONTAL PERGUNAN,
(Photo by A. de Casson, Esq.)

NEW MEMBERS.

NAMES.	ADDRESSES.	DATE OF MEMBER- SHIP 1908.
Bartels, A. E. ...	19, Radha Bazar ...	3rd Sept.
Bayley, C.S.I., I.C.S., Sir Chas. S. ...	Lieutenant-Governor, Eastern Bengal and Assam.	15th July.
Berthoud, E. ...	48, Chowringhee ...	21st August.
Clement, W. S. ...	c/o Messrs. Bird & Co. ...	8th Sept.
Dobbin, F. K. ...	235, Lower Circular Road ...	3rd August.
Hamilton, Sir D. M. ...	16, Strand Road ...	5th Sept.
Hoffmann, T. J. ...	22, Chowringhee ...	10th "
Lala Jatipradas Nandi of Burdwan ...	9, Garia Hat Road, Ballygunge...	28th August
Larmour, The Hon'ble F. A. ...	60, Bentinck Street ...	28th "
Lengley, F. A. S. ...	14, Old Court House Street ...	3rd "
McLeod, Norman ...	31, Dalhousie Square ...	29th "
Mukerjee, M.I.R.T., G.L. ...	9, Old Post Office Street ...	12th "
Murphy, Capt. C. C. R. ...	Suffolk Regiment ...	3rd Sept.
O'Kinealy, I.M.S., Major F. ...	c/o Messrs. King Hamilton & Co. ...	24th August.
Peal, S. J., The Rev. F. ...	The Presbytery, Darjeeling ...	21st July.
Ridley, H. B. ...	South British Insurance Co. ...	11th "
Vincent, W. H. ...	Ranchi ...	30th "
Yeoman, H. F. ...	1, Commercial Buildings ...	29th August.

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Calcutta Historical Society

ANNUAL REPORT

For the Year ended the 31st December 1908.

The Calcutta Historical Society (founded on the 27th April 1907) has now completed the second official year of its existence.

Membership —The roll of membership, it is pleasant to report, is still steadily increasing. In the last Annual Report the number of members stood at 200. The year ends with a total Registered membership of 222 and 8 new members have joined during January.

Amongst the changes which have had to be made in the office-holders of the Society, the most noteworthy is that occasioned by the resignation of Sir Robert Fulton of the office of Vice-President, which he filled so well and to such advantage to the Society, from its commencement. The Hon. Mr. Justice Stephen has been appointed Vice-President in his stead.

A vacancy having arisen in the office of Honorary Secretary, Mr. J. C. Mitchell was appointed to fill it.

The Society's Journal. —We continue to have the advantage of the services of the Rev. Walter K. Firminger, B.D., as the Editor of *Bengal: Past and Present*. During the year under review four numbers have appeared, which are intended to be bound up as Vol. II, Part I, and Vol. II, Part II; two numbers to each part. The separate title pages, to be placed at the commencement of each part, and the Index, to be bound in at the end of Vol. II, Part II, are all but ready. The Society has to offer its thanks to Messrs. Thacker Spink & Co. for a fine reproduction, in colours, of a view by Daniels of Chandpal Ghat in 1797, which will be issued with the Index supplement, and should be bound in as a frontispiece to Vol. II., Part I. To non-members, a charge of one rupee eight annas will be made for the Index supplement. The preparation of the Index represents a vast amount of hard and not particularly exciting labour: but it is not too much to say that the absence of an index would deprive the Journal of nearly 50 per cent. of its importance as a scientific authority on the history of Bengal.

Members of the Society should be informed that some of the back numbers of *Bengal: Past and Present* are becoming very scarce. The numbers published in 1907 are not now sold separately, and the price now charged for them (Index included) is Rs. 11-8-0. The supply on hand of No. 1 of Vol. II.

is very limited, and it will be very shortly necessary to discontinue its sale, save to those who wish to purchase all four numbers issued in 1908.

In view of the assured sale and circulation of *Bengal: Past and Present*, it is somewhat surprising that we have not been able to reduce the cost to the Society of the publication by any considerable income derived from advertisements.

Excursions.—Several difficulties have occurred to limit the number of Excursions in the past year. One difficulty arises from the impossibility of fixing upon days which will suit all members alike, the most general holidays being those appropriated by public events of old standing. Another is that during certain holidays, the traffic is so increased, that the Steam Navigation Companies cannot spare the service of their vessels: and at other times they have found themselves compelled to increase the rates of hire by fifty per cent, thus making it impossible for the Society to secure a financial success for a small expedition. The Society has in the year past visited:—

1. **Murshidabad**—a most charming Expedition, on the occasion of which the Society was magnificently entertained by H. H. the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad, Amir-ul-Umrah, to whose hospitality and forethought, and to the unstinted pains and courtesy of his Dewan, and Secretary, the Society is deeply indebted. The labours of 'His Highness' Master of Horse were much appreciated.
2. **Chandernagore**—a delightful visit. The Society was most hospitably entertained by the Mayor, Monsr. L. Tardivel; and to the Brothers Lehuraux the Excursion was indebted for skilled guidance.

These Excursions have been fully reported in *Bengal: Past and Present*.

The Society, it is hoped, will in the present year visit—

1. Pandua and Burdwan.
2. Bhulaneshwar and the Caves of Khandagiri and Udaigiri.

Reprints.—Under the auspices of the Society, Messrs. Thacker Spink & Co. have published a charming new edition of Mrs. Fay's *Original Letters from India*. The book is not only, from first page to last, full of adventures, but it is a rich mine of information concerning people and places in the past. The Society has also extended its auspices to a reprint of the *Genuine Letters of Asiaticus*, which will be ready very shortly. The Executive Committee have authorised the publication of

The Diaries of Three Surgeons of Patna.

These diaries will be printed in parallel columns, so that the events which led up to the terrible Massacre at Patna in 1763 will be easily traced from day to day. Of these three works, two have been edited by Mr. Firminger, and the *Genuine Letters of Asiaticus* by Mr. K. N. Dhar, Mr. Firminger supplying the Introduction and Notes.

Finance.—The Financial working during the year may be considered satisfactory. The subscriptions of 222 registered members amounted to Rs. 4,440, the sale of *Bengal : Past and Present* to Rs. 1,319 and other sources of income produced Rs. 391, while the closing stock of the journal has been estimated at Rs. 250, or together Rs. 6,400.

On the other side the deficit on the Excursions and the "Joh Charnock" Dinner was Rs. 246, the cost of *Bengal : Past and Present* Rs. 4,271 and the Expense of working Rs. 1,798, or together Rs. 6,315, thus disclosing a surplus of Rs. 85.

The Balance at credit of the Society at the beginning of the year was Rs. 1,339 which has been reduced by adjustments in account relating to 1907 by Rs. 558 leaving Rs. 781 only as the actual surplus on working of 1907. To this has been added Rs. 85, the surplus of 1908, referred to above, and from the sum thus arrived at, Rs. 250 has been deducted in respect of a proportion of the loss likely to arise on the sale of the Society's picture post-cards.

The audited Balance-sheet may be taken as disclosing, as nearly as circumstances admit, the actual financial position after elimination of all known doubtful assets, and shows that after two years working a capital of Rs. 616 stands to the credit of the Society.

Preservation of Ancient Records.—Something has been said in the pages of *Bengal : Past and Present* as to the necessity of a careful study of the early mofussil records of the English in Bengal. Many of these—perhaps it may be said the bulk of these papers—are in the last state of decay, and it is often scarcely possible to open the old letter copy book volumes without some of their contents falling to pieces. Yet it is these time-worn papers which alone can tell us how British Bengal was brought, by the untiring zeal and courage of men, whose names are now forgotten, to be, on the whole, a land where property is secure, rights respected, and equal justice administered. The oldest and most interesting of these series of Mofussil records, the Midnapore Collectorate papers, have in the year that is past, been entrusted by the Government of Bengal to our Editor for study, and, with the assistance of the Society's clerk, he has made a fair copy of nearly the whole collection.

By the kind permission of the Government of India, the documents which relate to the history of the English and French in Bengal in the momentous years 1778-1783 have been studied, and fair copies have been made of nearly all these most interesting papers. The Government of India, under certain conditions easily complied with, has generously given its consent to the publication of these papers. On his own behalf the Editor has undertaken a special

enquiry into the story of pirateering on Indian seas during this period, and he is in consultation with Mr. John Murray as to their publication.

The Society's Clerk has also, by kind permission of the Ven. Archdeacon of Calcutta, made type-written copies of the records relative to the building of St. Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta.

The Register of Births, Deaths, and Marriages at St. John's, from the year 1759 onward are at present being copied, and it is found that for nearly 50 per cent. of the marriages, the career of the bridegroom is to be traced.

The Diaries of Three Surgeons, two of whom fell in the massacre at Patna in 1763, have been copied. These were produced some years ago in the Calcutta Review, but copies of the numbers containing the diaries are not now obtainable. Mr. Firminger, moreover, has worked from the documents and not at second hand from the *Review*. The important thing would be that these Diaries should be printed in parallel columns, so that the events of each of these painful days may be clearly displayed to the reader.

The Clerk has also made copies from the exceedingly scarce *Asiatic Register of*

Col. Ironside's *Narrative of the Campaign in Bengal in 1760*

and

Thomas Mott's *Journey in Asia in 1786.*

Copies have also been made of the Last Journals of the heroic Arthur Cannolly on his ill-fated mission to Bokhara.

The Society feel that, by steps taken to render the historical documents existing in Bengal available to students of history, they will be best justifying the existence of a Calcutta Historical Society, and most firmly establishing their claim to public appreciation or support.

The Society's Library.—The Society has been deeply indebted to Dr. Buxted for a most generous gift of books to its library. A list of books possessed by the Society will be issued with this report.

J. C. MITCHELL,

Honorary Secretary.

22nd January 1909.

Calcutta Historical Society,

LIBRARY.

Presented by Raja Binay Krishna Deb Bahadur, C. I. E.
 Deb (Raja Binaya Krishna Deb). *The Early History and Growth of Calcutta.*
 Ghose (N. N.) *Memoirs of Maharaja Nubkissen Bahadur.*

*Opinions of some Eminent Persons and the Press on the Memoirs of
 Maharaja Nubkissen Bahadur.*

Presented by Brig. Surg.-General H. F. Buxteed, C. I. E.
 Chabot (Chas.) and Twistleton (the Hon. Edward). *The Handwriting of Junius
 Professionally investigated.*

Mirza Abu Taleb Khan. *Travels in Asia, Africa and Europe in 1799-1803.*
 Translated by Charles Stewart.

Junius, *Letters of* (Best Edition, 1812), 3 Vols.

The Identity of Junius with a Distinguished Living Character Established 1818.

Holwell, J. F. *Interesting Historical Events Relative to the Provinces of Bengal,
 etc., 1766.* Vol. I.

Graves Sawlo (Lady Rose) *Sketches from the Diaries of 1833-36.*

Waghorn (Lieut. Thos.) *Oerland Route to India.*

Presented by Harinath De, Esq.
 (*Opuscula Editata in Adventum G. N. Baronis Curzon*). Translation of Dr.
 Batuta's Description of Bengal and Hafiz's Ghiyasuddin Ode.

Presented by T. G. Sykes, Esq.
 Hill, S. C. *Life of Major Genl. Claud Martin.*

• *Purchased.*

Hill (S. O.) *Bengal in 1756-7.* Indian Records Series, 3 Vols.

Wilson (C. R.) *Old Fort William in Bengal.* Indian Records Series, 2 Vols.

Yule (H.) and Burnell (A. C.) *Hobson-Jobson.* Edited by Wm. Crooke, 1903.
Dictionary of National Biography, Index and Epitome.

List of Ancient Monuments in Bengal, 1896.

Seid Gholam Hossein Khan. *Seir Mutagherin.* Translated by Raymond, 4 Vols.

Hedges W. *The Diary of.* Edited by H. Yule, C. B., 3 Vols.

Jackson, W. B. *Report on Darjerling, 1854.*

Stubbs (Major-Genl. F. W.) *History of the Bengal Artillery.*

Presented by Authors.

Hosten, S.J. (Rev. Father H.) *Jesuit Missionaries in Northern India and Inscrip-
 tions on their Tombs (1580-1803).*

History of the Savana Family of Brahmins.

*Presented by the Government of Madras.**List of Ancient Records preserved at Fort St. George. 44 Numbers.***Selections from the Records of the Madras Government—**

No. 1. Gollennesse Memoir on the Malabar Coast.

Dutch Records. No. 2. *Memoir Written in the year 1781 A. D. by Adriaan Moens.* Copied by the Rev. P. Groot, s. j.Do. No. 3. *Memoir of Commander Fridrik Cunes.*Do. No. 4. *Memoir of Johan Gerard Van Angelbeck.*Do. No. 5. *Historical Account of Nawab Hyder Ali Khan.**Records of Fort St. George, Country Correspondence, 1740.*

Do. do. do. 1748.

Do. do. do. 1800.

By Exchange with the Archeological Survey of India.

Report for 1907-8. Frontier Circle.

Do. Burma.

Do. Northern Circle.

Do. Archeological Surveyor, Northern Circle.

Do. Southern Circle.

Do. Eastern Circle.

The Second Annual General Meeting of the Calcutta Historical Society was held on Friday, 5th February 1909, at 6 p. m., in the Hall of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 57, Park Street, Calcutta.

The Hon. Sir Francis Maclean, K. C. I. E., Chief Justice of Bengal, President of the Society, occupied the Chair and there were present:—The Hon. Mr. Justice Harrington, Lt. Col. W. J. Buchanan, I. M. S., Mr. J. C. Chowdry, Mr. Wilmot Corfield, Mr. John Davenport, Mr. J. Downing, the Rev. W. K. Firminger, B. D., Mr. T. J. Hoffman, Mr. D. Hooper, Mr. Syud Hossain, Lt. Col. Lloyd Jones, I. M. S., Mr. E. W. Madge, Mr. W. C. Madge, Mr. R. D. Mehta, C. I. E., Mr. G. L. Mookerjee, Mr. P. N. Mookerjee, Mr. G. P. Shelton, Mr. H. A. Stark, and Mr. J. C. Mitchell (Honorary Secretary).

The Chairman said: The first thing I have to do is to ask the members to authorise me to sign the proceedings of the Society's first annual meeting held on the 28th January 1908, which have been circulated.

The meeting being unanimously in favour of his doing so, the Chairman signed the proceedings of the 28th January 1908.

The Chairman said: The next business on the agenda is to adopt the Annual Report and Accounts for 1908. The Report, I believe, has not been circulated, but you each have copies of it and it does not take very long to read through. I think you will all agree with me that, taken as a whole, it is a very satisfactory report.

Now first there is the question of our membership. That has increased and we have now practically 230 members on the rolls.

Passing to that which I might almost call the Historical Society itself, namely the Society's journal, I need hardly say—in confidence of course—how much we all owe to Mr. Firminger. I must say—and say it most cordially—that the way in which Mr. Firminger has brought up and worked and carried on the journal is simply admirable. And I regret very much to hear that there is a risk of our losing his most valuable services. What we shall do without him—if we do lose him—I do not like to imagine. I was a little surprised that the financial aspect of the journal has not been a little better, but no doubt it is an expensive thing to produce and the sale to the public perhaps has not quite come up to our anticipation. One has only to look at it to see it is an expensive thing to produce, but still, as will be seen when I deal with our financial position, on the whole we have nothing to complain of. As regards the financial aspect of the Society's journal, of course it does not pay its way, but nobody thought it would pay its way.

Passing to the next head, that of excursions, regarding which I am afraid I am rather guilty in not having taken the part I ought to have taken—not being enamoured of railway travelling in India—they appear to have been very successful and delightful and instructive.

In the matter of the reprints of "The Diaries of Three Surgeons of Patna," they are mentioned in the Report and I need not say anything special about them.

Now I come to a very important question, the question of our financial position. It will be in the recollection of members that at our meeting last year, it was not regarded as being sound as it might have been. But I do think that whatever our position was last year we have mended matters very much this year. I don't think, looking at the last few paragraphs of this Report, that there is much to complain of in our financial position. We are solvent. It is always a good thing to be solvent, even if the balance at our bankers be not very large. But there can be no question about that. The matter has been very carefully gone into in the Report and everyone present can see how we stand financially. Considering the Society has been only two years in existence and the difficulties which we met with last year—about which I need not go into details—and the incidental expenses of the journal, our financial position is one upon which we may congratulate ourselves. Of course we don't want to make a profit, but simply to keep our heads above water, and from the report you will see that we have a balance on the right side. If this year there is an increase in the number of members and an increase in the sale of the journal, I don't see why one cannot anticipate that next year our financial position will be much stronger than it is at present.

There is only one other matter I would like to allude to, and that is the filling up of the vacancy in the office of Honorary Secretary. Members will recollect that last year we were placed in rather a difficult position. Mr. Mitchell

came to the front; he came to our assistance and everybody will agree that he has discharged his duties as Honorary Secretary with ability and zeal and efficiency.

With these very brief observations, because I did not come here to make a speech but for business purposes, I beg to move the adoption of the Annual Report and Accounts for 1908.

Lieut.-Col. Lloyd Jones said: I beg to second the motion.

The motion was put and carried unanimously.

The Rev. W. K. Firminger said: I wish to make a slight addition to the report. I want to put in the report a paragraph relating to the preservation of ancient records. Something has been said in the pages of "Bengal: Past and Present," as to the necessity of a careful study of the early mofussil records of the English in Bengal. Many of them, perhaps it may be said the bulk of these papers—are in the last state of decay and it is often scarcely possible to open the old letter copy book volumes without some of the contents falling to pieces. Yet it is these time-worn papers which alone can tell us how British Bengal was brought, by the untiring zeal and courage of men whose names are now forgotten, to be, on the whole, a land where property is secure, rights respected and equal justice administered. The oldest and most interesting of these series of mofussil records, the Midnapore Collectorate papers, have, in the year that is past, been entrusted by the Government of Bengal to our Editor for study, and, with the assistance of the Society's clerk, he has made a fair copy of nearly the whole collection.

By the kind permission of the Government of India, the documents which relate to the history of the English and French in Bengal in the momentous years 1778-1783 have been studied and fair copies have been made of nearly all these most interesting papers. The Government of India, under certain conditions easily complied with, has generously given its consent to the publication of these papers. On his own behalf, the Editor has undertaken a special enquiry into the story of privateering on Indian seas during this period and he is in consultation with Mr. John Murray as to their publication.

The Society's clerk has also, by kind permission of the Ven. Archdeacon of Calcutta, made typewritten copies of the records relative to the building of St. Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta.

The Registers of Births, Deaths and Marriages at St. John's, Calcutta, from the year 1759 onward are at present being copied, and it is found that for nearly 50 per cent. of the marriages, the career of the bridegroom is to be traced.

The Diaries of Three Surgeons, two of whom fell in the massacre at Patna in 1763, have been copied. These were produced some years ago in the "Calcutta Review," but copies of the numbers containing the Diaries are not now

obtainable. Mr. Firminger, moreover, has worked from the documents and not at second hand from the "Review." The important thing would be that these Diaries should be printed in parallel columns so that the events of each of these painful days may be clearly displayed to the reader.

The clerk has also made copies from the exceedingly scarce "Asiatic Register" of Colonel Ironside's "Narrative of the Campaign in Bengal in 1760" and Thomas Mott's "Journey in Orissa in 1766." Copies have also been made of the Last Journal of the heroic Arthur Connolly on his ill-fated mission to Bokhara.

The Society feel that by steps taken to render the historical documents existing in Bengal available to students of history, they will be best justifying the existence of a Calcutta Historical Society, and most firmly establishing their claim to public appreciation and support.

The Society have been deeply indebted to Dr. Busteed for a most generous gift of books to its Library. A list of books possessed by the Society will be issued with this report.

It is hoped that this record of work will lead members of the Society to realise that our excursions are not the only or the principal outcome of our energy.

Lieut.-Col. Lloyd Jones said : I have much pleasure in seconding that.

The Chairman said : Speaking for myself I entirely agree with that view.

The motion was put and carried unanimously.

The Chairman said : The next business on the agenda is to elect officers for 1909. I don't know if I am in order in suggesting that I should again be elected President, because my stay in this country will be very short, but if you are agreeable that, I should still retain the presidential chair during the time I remain in India, I shall be very glad to do so. As regards the Vice-Presidents, I suggest that the Hon. Mr. Justice Stephen and Raja Benoy Krishna Deb Bahadur be continued if they are willing so to act. With regard to the Honorary Secretary, I have said enough just now to ensure a favourable reception of his name in the continuance of his task. We shall be only too pleased if Mr. Mitchell will continue to act as our Honorary Secretary. Then we come to another name which I am sure you will all approve of, and that is that the Editor of "Bengal : Past and Present" should be Mr. Firminger. As I have said before what shall we do without him. As regards the Honorary Treasurer I hope that we may still be favoured with the most valuable services of Mr. Corfield. We all know what Mr. Corfield did for us last year in going through the accounts and putting matters on a sound and better basis and if Mr. Corfield will continue as our Honorary Treasurer I am satisfied that will meet the wishes of every member of the Society and if Mr. Conates will continue to act as Honorary Auditor I don't believe we could do better.

If I am in order at this meeting I should like to take the opportunity of moving a vote of thanks to Mr. Corfield for the very valuable work he has done during the past two years in connection with the Honorary Treasurership. There is no man in Bengal who gets more puzzled over accounts than myself and when I see the clear way in which Mr. Corfield puts them forward I am glad to say I am in a position to grapple with them.

The vote of thanks was put and carried unanimously.

The Chairman continuing said :—So much for the Officers. Now we come to the Members of Council. I would suggest that, the following gentlemen be elected Members of Council for the year 1909 :—The Hon. Sir Francis Maclean, K. C. I. E., the Hon. Justice H. L. Stephen, the Hon. Justice C. P. Caspersz, the Hon. Justice Fletcher, the Hon. Justice R. Harington, the Hon. Justice Holmwood, Lieut.-Col. W. J. Buchanan, M.B., I.M.S., Mr. Wilmot Corfield, Mr. John Davenport, Mr. J. Downing, Rev. W. K. Firminger, B.D., Mr. D. Hooper, F.C.S., Mr. Geo. Huddleston, C.I.E., Lieut.-Col. J. Lloyd Jones, M.B., I.M.S., Mr. J. D. D. Kirkman, Mr. James Luke, Mr. G. B. McNair, Mr. E. W. Madge, Mr. W. C. Madge, Mr. R. D. Mehta, C.I.E., Mr. J. C. Mitchell, Mr. A. P. Muddiman, I.C.S., Mr. P. N. Mookerjee, Lieutenant-Colonel G. W. Palin, I.A., Mr. W. H. Phelps, Mr. E. W. S. Russell, A.C.A., Mr. W. J. Simmons, Mr. H. A. Stark, B.A., Mr. L. G. Dunbar, the Maharaj Adhiraj of Burdwan, Mr. Moitry, Mr. Syud Hossain and Mr. G. P. Shelton. I think that with the names I have suggested the Council will numerically be quite strong enough. If the names I have suggested are adopted, the affairs of the Society will be carefully regarded. In proposing those names I wish to inform you—and I am certain that information will be cordially received—that our present Lieutenant Governor has accepted the office of Patron of the Society.

Mr. Corfield said : I should like to propose Mr. Henry Newman of the "Englishman" as a Member of the Council.

Mr. Syud Hossain said : I have much pleasure in seconding that.

The Chairman said : I am very glad to welcome him.

The motion was put and carried unanimously.

The Chairman said : The next item of business on the agenda is to discuss any other relevant business that may arise.

The Rev. W. K. Firminger said : I am afraid I have been rather bold but what I wish to state will, I think, come under the head of any other relevant business. A firm of London booksellers recently placed on sale the old letter copy books of Richard Barwell. I knew these things are generally bought up by American collectors of curiosities and taken to America and when the collector dies they become mere waste property. I take the step of seeing whether some friends of our Society would not subscribe and present these

volumes to the Society. The Nawab of Murshidabad and the Maharaj Adhiraj of Burdwan gave me Rs. 150 each and I think we require another Rs. 100 or so to pay for these books. Here they are and the subscribers intend to present them to the Society. We have made a capture and the possession alone of these valuable documents will give us a certain amount of standing. I think we can make up the other Rs. 100 by subscription.

The Rev. W. K. Firminger said :—I beg to propose a vote of thanks to our President for presiding at this meeting and to the Asiatic Society for the use of their Hall.

Mr. J. Downing said : I have much pleasure in seconding that.

The vote of thanks was put and carried unanimously.

The meeting then separated.

4y.

WILMOT CORFIELD,
Honorary Treasurer.

CALCUTTA, 18th January 1909.

Calcutta

Dr.

WORKING ACCOUNT

	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.
To Muralidabad and Chandernagore Excursions ...	.....	...	...	227	1	9
„ The “Job Charnock” Dinner ...	.....	...	...	18	10	0
„ <i>Bengal Past and Present</i> —						
Printing ...	2,613	2	0			
Illustrations ...	1,657	9	6	4,270	11	6
„ Establishment ...	659	10	4			
„ Conveyance ...	48	13	3			
„ Printing, Stationery, &c. ...	566	15	0			
„ Advertising ...	164	6	0			
„ Postages ...	171	3	0			
„ Reporter ...	32	0	0			
„ Hire of Furniture ...	4	8	0			
„ Guide ...	15	0	0			
„ “The Englishman” ...	25	0	0			
„ Typewriter repairs, &c. ...	45	4	0			
„ Incidentals ...	65	4	9	1,798	0	4
„ Balance, being Surplus, carried to Balance Account	.....	...	...	85	0	5
TOTAL Rs. ...	.....	...	...	6,399	8	0

Examined and found correct.

C. H. COATES,

CALCUTTA, 19th January 1900.

Honorary Auditor.

Historical Society.

1st January to 31st December 1908.

Rs.

			Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.
By Subscriptions	222 @ Rs. 20	...	.....	...	...	4,440	0	0
„ Bengal : Past & Present -								
Sales	...	..	1,318	9	0			
Advertisements	...	..	325	0	0	1,643	9	0
„ Sale of Programmes	...	..	.....	...	...	4	8	0
„ Sale of Picture Post-cards	...	..	.....	...	...	41	1	0
„ Donation	...	..	.....	...	...	10	0	0
„ Commission on sale of outside publications	...	..	.....	...	...	3	14	0
„ Interest allowed by Bank	...	..	.....	...	...	6	8	0
Stock of Journal (estimated)	...	..	.....	...	...	250	0	0
TOTAL, Rs.								
		6,399	8	0

WILMOT CORFIELD,

Honorary Treasurer.

Calcutta Historical Society.

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HIS EXCELLENCY THE EARL OF MINTO, P.C., G.C.M.G., G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., *Viceroy and Governor-General of India.*

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MR. W. J. SIMMONS.

MR. H. A. STARK, B.A.

MR. SYUD HOSSAIN.

THE HON. JUSTICE H. L. STEPHEN

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Registered Office :—28, DALHOUSIE SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

LIST OF MEMBERS, 31st DECEMBER, 1908.

NAME.	ADDRESS.
Abdul Ali, A. F. M.	<i>Dy. Magistrate & Collector, Pathuakhali, P.O. Backergunj.</i>
Addyman, J. E.	<i>90, Clive Street, Calcutta.</i>
Apcar, The Hon. A. A.	<i>11, Russell Street, "</i>
Avelbury, The Right Hon'ble Baron, P. C., D. C.L., F.R.S., D. L.	<i>Kingsgate Castle, Broadstairs, London.</i>
Bacon, E. G.	<i>71, Garden Reach, Kidderpore.</i>
Bailey, W. L.	<i>1, Pretoria Street, Calcutta.</i>
Baker, J. W.	<i>5, Lyons Range, "</i>
Barrow, Oscar T., I.C.S., C.I.E.	<i>2, Hungerford Street, "</i>
Bartels, A. E.	<i>19, Radha Bazar, "</i>
Barton, T. W.	<i>Great Eastern Hotel, "</i>
Bayley, Sir C. Stuart, C.S.I., I.C.S.	<i>Hyderabad.</i>
Bayley, C.B., M.V.O.	<i>Writers' Buildings, Calcutta.</i>
Beazley, R. H.	<i>Chartered Bank, "</i>
Berthoud, E.	<i>48, Chourringhee, "</i>
Botta, C. C.	<i>Chandpur, Tipperah P. O.</i>
Blup, His Highness Sir Nripendra Narain, Bahadur, G.C.I.E., C.B., Maharajah of Cooch Behar	<i>Woodlands, Alipur.</i>
Billing, Miss S. E.	<i>4, Rusdon Street, Calcutta.</i>
Bingley, Lieut.-Col. A. H.	<i>Victoria Cottage, Simla.</i>
Black, J. R.	<i>5, Fairlie Place, Calcutta.</i>
Bradley-Birt, F. B., I.C.S.	<i>Magistrate's House, Midnapore.</i>
Bradshaw, W. J.	<i>4, Esplanade East, Calcutta.</i>
Broom, J. Thomson	<i>c/o Messrs. Finlay Muir & Co.</i>
Brown, Harry	<i>7, Hastings Street, Calcutta.</i>
Bryning, Miss A.	<i>11, Kyd Street, "</i>
Buchanan, Lieut.-Col. W.J., I.M.S.	<i>19, Writers' Buildings, "</i>
Buckland, C. E.	<i>61, Cornwall Gardens, South Kensington, London S. W.</i>
Busteed, Henry Elmsley, M.D., C.I.E.	<i>East India United Service Club, St. James Square, London S. W.</i>
Cadell, P.R., I.C.S.	<i>Bengal Club, Calcutta.</i>
Campbell, D. F.	<i>Luckatooah T. E., Sylhet E. B. & A.</i>
Careless, The Rev. W.E.	<i>The Parsonage, Dacca.</i>
Carne, P.	<i>8, Chourringhee, Calcutta.</i>
Caspersz, The Hon. Justice, P.A.	<i>47, Theatre Road, "</i>
Cassie, G. J.	<i>36, Chourringhee, "</i>
Champkin, Cyril	<i>Mercantile Bank, "</i>
Chitty, The Hon. Justice C. W.	<i>21, London Street, "</i>
Chowdry, J. C.	<i>Bishop's College, 224, Lower Circular Road, Calcutta.</i>
Christ, O.	<i>Deutsche Asiatische Bank, Calcutta.</i>
Clement, W. S.	<i>c/o Messrs. Bird & Co., Calcutta.</i>
Coates, C. H.	<i>25, Mangoe Lane, "</i>
Cockell, W. F.	<i>23 Camar Street, "</i>
Cole, The Rev. Canon. T.E.F., L.L.B.,	<i>St. John's Vicarage, "</i>
Copleston, The Most Rev. Reginald Stephen, D. D., Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of India and Ceylon.	<i>The Palace, "</i>
Corfield, Wilmot	<i>25, Mangoe Lane, Calcutta.</i>
Cotman H. W.	<i>United Service Club, Calcutta.</i>
Cotton, C.W.E., I.C.S.	<i>Bengal Club, Calcutta.</i>
Cotton, J.J., I.C.S.	<i>Palarzo Ariotta, Christianone, Italy.</i>

LIST OF MEMBERS, 31st DECEMBER, 1908.

NAME.	ADDRESS.
Cram, P. A. ...	20, Bamford Road, Didsbury, Manchester.
Crawford, Lieut.-Col. D.G. (Life Member)	Civil Surgeon, Hughli.
Crichton, J. B.	5, Fairlie Place Calcutta.
Cruden, D. A. U.	8, Clive Street "
Cruttenden, F. P.	c/o. South British Insurance Co., Calcutta
Cumming, J. G., I.C.S.	United Service Club, Calcutta,
Cunningham, W. W.	101/1, Clive Street, "
Carzon, The Right Hon. Baron of Keddleston, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., M.A., P.C., F.R.S., D.C.L.	Hackwood, Basingstoke, England.
Davenport, John ...	Chartered Bank Buildings, Calcutta.
Deb, Benoy Krishna, Raja Bahadur, C.I.E.	108/1, Grey Street, "
DeCosson, A. T. C. ...	Queens Road, Allahabad.
De, Harinath, M.A. ...	Imperial Library, Calcutta.
Dillon, W. ...	9 Hare Street, "
Dobbin, F. K. ...	235, Lower Circular Road Calcutta.
Dowbiggin, H.B.L. ...	Mercantile Bank, Calcutta.
Dowding, W. K. ...	6, Lyons Range, "
Downing, J.	13, Russell Street, "
Duchesse, A.E., B.A.	England.
Dumayne, F. G.	Port Commissioners' Buildings, Calcutta.
Dunbar, L. G.	Bank of Bengal, Calcutta.
Dutt, P. N. ...	Police Court, Lall Bazar.
Edwards, Major R. M. ...	5th Light Infantry Calcutta.
Elles, E. H. ...	1, Mission Row, "
Elliott, W. T. T. ...	2, Clive Ghdt Street, "
Ewing, F. ...	India General Navigation & Railway Co., Naravungge.
Fanshawe, Sir Arthur ...	c/o H. S. King & Co., 9, Pall Mall, London.
Fazl, Rubbee, Khan Bahadur	Deran, Murshidabad.
Fink, Dr. H. H. G. ...	19, Cumac Street, Calcutta.
Firminger, The Rev. W. K.	The Vicarage, Kidderpore.
Flemming, Capt. J. G. ...	Civil Surgeon, Suri, Birbhum.
Fletcher, The Hon. Justice	14, London Street, Calcutta.
Forrest, Mrs. M. L. ...	Magistrate's House, Howrah.
Fox, Evelyn Brooke ...	Dist. Engineer, F. I. Ry., Gujhandi Station, P. O., Grand Chord Line.
Fulton, Sir Robert (Life Member)	c/o. Messrs. Grindlay & Co., 51, Parliament Street, London, S. W.
Gall, R. L. B. ...	c/o Messrs. Landale & Clarke, 12, Clive Road, Calcutta.
Goodman, J. ...	c/o Messrs. Anderson Wright & Co., Calcutta.
Goodwin, A. E. ...	6 & 7, Clive Street, Calcutta.
Goeling, F. ...	3, Moira Street, "
Graves, Henry G. ...	United Service Club, "
Grieco, W. T. ...	9, Dalhousie Sq., "
Grossmann, W. ...	2, Fairlie Place, "
Gupta, Jogendra Nath Das	Principal, Hughly College, Hughly.
Gutachke, M. ...	Deutsch-Asiatische Bank, Calcutta.
Hadenfeldt, Otto ...	15, Clive Row, Calcutta.
Halliday, F. C. T. ...	Police Office, "
Hamilton, Sir D. M. ...	16, Strand Road, "
Hare, H.H. Sir Lancelot ...	Lt.-Gov., Eastern Bengal and Assam, Shillong.

LIST OF MEMBERS—31st DECEMBER, 1908.

NAME.	ADDRESS.
Harrington, The Hon. Justice ...	14, London Street, Calcutta.
Harris, A. E. ...	3, Park Street, "
Hartley, E. R. ...	Mercantile Bank, "
Harwood, Col., P. M. O. ...	United Service Club, "
Haywood, H. M. ...	Secretary, Bengal Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta.
Hills, C. R. ...	8, Mission Road, Calcutta.
Hoffman, T. J. ...	22, Churringhee, "
Holmwood, E. H. ...	c/o Wallace & Co., 21, Lindsay Street, "
Holmwood, The Hon. Justice, H. ...	22, Theatre Road, "
Hooper, C. F. ...	c/o Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co., Indian Museum, "
Hooper, D. ...	7, Dedar Buz Lane, "
Hossein, Syud ...	E. I. Railway House, "
Huddleston, G., C. I. E. ...	Calcutta General Printing Co., 300, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta.
Hume, W. E. P. ...	6, Clive Row, Calcutta.
Hutchison, Robert, W. ...	St. John's College, Oxford.
Hutton, The Rev. W. H., B. D. ...	
Ingram, D. Halford ...	71, Garden Reach, Calcutta.
Jones, Lt.-Col. J. Lloyd, I. M. S. ...	United Service Club, "
Keay, Lyle ...	Mercantile Bank, Calcutta.
Keith, A. W. ...	Tikari Raj Estate, Gaya.
Kennedy, W. W. ...	36, Churringhee, Calcutta.
Kesteven H. C. ...	Bengal Club, Calcutta.
King, Daniel ...	c/o Messrs. Andrew Yule & Co., "
Kirkman, J. D. D. ...	3, Wood Street, "
Kothians, Robert ...	156, Canning Street, "
Lahiri, Tin Kori ...	Forest Ranger, Dehra Dun.
Larmour, Hon. F. A. ...	60, Bentinck Street, Calcutta.
Larmour, C. F. ...	60, " " "
LaTouche, T. H. D. ...	United Service Club, "
LeMesurier, H. P. ...	B. N. Railway, Garden Reach.
LePatourel, Paul ...	5, Churringhee Place, Calcutta.
Leslie, W. ...	2, Churringhee Road, "
Longley, F. A. C. ...	14, Old Court House Street, Calcutta.
Longley, Phil. C. ...	9, Esplanade East, "
Luke, James ...	98, Clive Street, "
Lyell, George ...	Horsell Lodge, Woking, Surrey, England.
Maclean, The Hon. Sir Francis K.C.I.E. ...	High Court, Calcutta.
Madge, R. W. ...	Imperial Library, "
Madge, W. C. ...	1, Mangoe Lane, "
Malta, The Maharaj Adhiraj Sir Bejoy Chand, K.C.S.I., Bahadur of Burdwan, ...	Burdwan.
Majumdar, P. C. ...	The Palace, Murshidabad.
Manu, Dr. H. H. ...	Agricultural College, Poona.
Manook, J. ...	9, Short Street, Calcutta.
Martin, Harold P. ...	7, Clive Street, "
Martin, Thomas A. C. A. ...	21, Camac Street, "
Mawjee, Purshotam Vishram ...	Vishraji Bhawan, Warden Road, Bombay.
McLeod, Norman ...	31, Dalhousie Square, Calcutta.
McNair, G. B. ...	1, Hastings Street, "

LIST OF MEMBERS, 31st DECEMBER, 1908.

NAME.	ADDRESS.
Mead, C. H.	<i>Mercantile Bank, Calcutta.</i>
Mehta, R. D., C. I. E.	<i>55, Caming Street, "</i>
Meuloman, The Most Rev. Dr. Brice D.D., S.J., Archbishop of Calcutta	<i>12, Park Street, "</i>
Milne, Major, C. J. Robertson, I. M. S.	<i>Berhampore, E.B.S. Ry., Bengal.</i>
Minto, His Excellency, the Earl of, P.O., G.C.M.G. G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., Viceroy and Governor.	<i>Government House, Calcutta.</i>
General of India	<i>The Palace, Murshidabad.</i>
Mirza, Nasir Ali, Prince	<i>Mercantile Bank, Calcutta.</i>
Mitchell, Jas. C.	<i>Dewan, Chhattarpur State, Bundelkhand.</i>
Mitter, S.	<i>Serampore, E.I. Ry.</i>
Moiry, Moumotha Nath	<i>13, Harrington Street, Calcutta.</i>
Muddiman, A. P., I.C.S.	<i>9, Old Post Office Street, "</i>
Mukerjee, G. L., M.I.R.T.	<i>75, Russa Road North, "</i>
Mukerjee, The Hon. Justice A.	<i>Municipal Office, Corporation Buildings, Calcutta.</i>
Mukerjee, P. N.	<i>Giridih.</i>
Mumford, G. B., I.C.S.	<i>42, Chouringhee, Calcutta.</i>
Murphy, Capt. C.C.R.	<i>6, Middleton Street, "</i>
Myers, Dudley B.	
Nandi, Lala Jatiprokas, of Burdwan	<i>9, Gariahat Road, Ballygunge.</i>
Nandy, Maharajah Manindra Chandra	<i>Maharajah of Cosimbazar.</i>
Nattore, Maharajah of	<i>6, Landonwe Road, Calcutta.</i>
Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad, H. H., Amir-ul- Omrah	<i>The Palace, Murshidabad.</i>
Newman, Henry	<i>9, Hare Street, Calcutta.</i>
Norman, W. H.	<i>5/2, Lee Road, Bhowanipore.</i>
Norton, Kardley	<i>42, Chouringhee, Calcutta.</i>
Nritya Gopal Mukerjee	<i>Kidderpore.</i>
O'Grady, W. T.	<i>Post Office, Nuggore.</i>
O'Kinealy, Major F., I.M.S.	<i>c/o Messrs. King Hamilton & Co., Calcutta.</i>
Oldham, C. A., I.C.S.	<i>22, Theatre Road, "</i>
Olver, G. T. W.	<i>United Service Club, "</i>
Owens, A.	<i>4, Fairlie Place, "</i>
Palin, Lieut.-Col. G. W.	<i>Alipur Private Road, Alipur.</i>
Palmer, F., C.I.E.	<i>Port Commissioners', Calcutta.</i>
Peal, The Rev. F., S.J.	<i>The Presbytery, Darjeeling.</i>
Persian Consul	<i>10, Hungerford Street, Calcutta.</i>
Petley, Capt. E. W., R. N. C.I.E.	<i>Port Commissioners' Office, "</i>
Perris, S. A.	<i>c/o Messrs. F. D. Sassoon & Co., Shanghai.</i>
Phelps, W. H.	<i>5, Russell Street, Calcutta.</i>
Pointon, A.	<i>5, Fairlie Place, "</i>
Prentice, W. D. R., I.C.S., (Life Member)	<i>Custom House, Rangoon.</i>
Raymond, Miss K.	<i>La Martiniers Girls' School, 14, Rawdon Street, Calcutta.</i>
Reay, The Right Hon'ble Baron, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E. L.L.D., P.C., D.L.	<i>England.</i>
Richards, K.C.S.I., The Hon'ble Sir H. Erle	<i>9 Harrington Street, Calcutta.</i>
Ridley, H. B.	<i>South British Insurance Co., Calcutta.</i>
Roy, P. L.	<i>24, Ezra Mansions, Calcutta.</i>
Russell, E. W. S.	<i>25, Mangos Lane, "</i>
Sarat C. Basu, B. L.	<i>Burdwan.</i>
Sasson, Alfred	<i>2/3, Clive Row, Calcutta.</i>

LIST OF MEMBERS, 31st DECEMBER, 1908.

NAME.	ADDRESS.
Saunders, J. O'B.	9, Hare Street, Calcutta.
Scallan, F. C.	13, Wood Street, "
Selfe, P. A.	c/o Messrs. Thomas Cook & Sons, Ludgate Circus, London, E. C.
Shelton, G. P.	55, Park Street, Calcutta.
Shouldham, T. H.	c/o Messrs. Burn & Co., Howrah.
Simmons, W. J.	6, Hastings Street, Calcutta.
Singh, His Highness The Hon. Maharaja Sir Ranjeshwara, Bahadur of Durbhanga, K. C. I. E.	Middleton Street, "
Smith, A. E.	c/o Messrs. Thomas Cook & Sons, Ludgate Circus, London, E. C.
Smith, A. Lockhart	1, Mangoe Lane, Calcutta.
Smith, G. H.	Fort Chunar, T. P.
Smith, Lieut.-Col. J. R. Dunlop, M. A., C. I. E. ...	Private Secretary to the Viceroy.
Smith, D. D. S., Dr. M. L.	7, Chourringhee, Calcutta.
Somerville, P.	53, Elliott Road, "
Spink, T. W.	c/o Messrs. Thacker Spink & Co., Calcutta.
Spink, W. T.	2, Creed Lane, Ludgate Hill, London.
Stark, Herbert A., B.A.	D. P. L.'s Office, Writers' Buildings, Calcutta.
Steel, W. R.	c/o T. F. Craddock, 7, East India Avenue, Leadenhall Street, London E. C.
Stephen, The Hon. Justice, H. L.	4, Camac Street, Calcutta.
Stevens, J. A.	Custom House, "
Stewart, F. H.	c/o Messrs. Giladstone Wyllie & Co., Calcutta.
Stockwell, A. P.	c/o Remington Typewriter Co. Council House Street, Calcutta.
Stuart, J. H. Cohen	4, Clive Street, Calcutta.
Sumner, G. R.	c/o Messrs. Kilburn & Co. Calcutta.
Sutherland, The Hon. Sir. G. H.	c/o Messrs. Begg Dunlop & Co. "
Swan, J. A. L.	United Service Club, "
Swan, T. S.	102, Clive Street, "
Swan, P. S.	12, Clive Road, "
Tagore, Maharajah Bahadur Sir ^d Prodyot, Kt. ...	Tagore Castle, Pathuringhatta, Calcutta.
Taylor, A. K.	Executive Engineer's Office,
Thomson, James	Chartered Bank Buildings,
Thornjon, E., F. R. I. B. A.	6 & 7, Clive Street,
Thurston, J. W.	102, Clive Street,
Tremearne, Shirley	98, Clive Street,
Vincent, W. H.	Chota Nagpur, Ranchi.
Voigt, F.	5, Short Street, Calcutta.
Wade, G. Vernon	6, Theatre Road, "
Wallace, D ^r R.	c/o Messrs. Ernsthausen Ltd., Calcutta
Walpert, M.	9, Middleton Street, Calcutta.
Watson, N. A. R.	11/1, Kgd Street, "
Watson, Robert, J.	9, Writers' Buildings "
Wheeler, Rev. E. M.	Principal, Berhampore College, Berhampore.
Wilkinson, W. J.	Ustadanga, off Manicktullah, P. O.
Williams, S. C.	E. I. Railway House, Calcutta.
Wilson, P. J.	12, Chapel Road, Hastings.
Wollaston, A. Hyde	4/1, Camac Street, Calcutta.
Wyness, James	11, Clive Street, "
Yeoman, H. F.	1, Commercial Bldgs. "

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